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Margaret R. Finn

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Edwin A. Quain, S. J.

(Faculty Adviser)

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A HISTORY OF
LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY
(from its inception up to 1681)

BY
MARGARET R. FINN
M.A., Fordham University, '42

DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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A HISTORY OF
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PREFACE

Students of Latin Palaeography have long felt the need of a comprehensive study of the origin and developmental history of that science. They had, it is true, at their disposal Ludwig Traube's Geschichte der Paläographie, but that work, despite that very learned author's deserved pre-eminence in the ranks of palaeographers, suffers from two major defects. (1) It disregards entirely all contributions made to the science of Palaeography before Papebroch and Mabillon,¹ and (2) his treatment of Papebroch and Mabillon, together with those post-Mabillon scholars whose names and reputations are known to all students of palaeography, is at most too brief, vague and superficial and fails to evaluate satisfactorily the exact contribution, if any, made by each of these men to palaeographical knowledge.

In addition, Traube's work labors under the misconception that lying at the basis of seventeenth century interest in palaeography was a sceptical attitude created in

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1. It must, however, be stated in all fairness that Traube had realized this deficiency himself and had set about to remedy it, but death intervened, and the notes which he had gathered pertinent to Pre-Mabillonian Palaeography were destroyed in the bombing raids inflicted on Munich during the second World War.

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the previous century through the efforts of Montaigne, which caused men to doubt the authenticity of all written documents and mss.

This work proposes to correct these three defects. It will first prove by a survey of the history and highlights of the Science of Diplomats and by a study of the men and movements of the seventeenth century that the interest in palaeography which manifested itself so brilliantly in that century was due not to any scepticism in the minds of these early students of handwriting but rather to a desire which, with an impelling force, urged them to seek truth and certitude. Papebroch has said: "Uniscribimus et studemus veritati". Important with him and with others of his predecessors was a desire to establish once and for all the truth or the lack thereof of the multitudinous stories which surrounded the lives of the saints. To effect this design was to them the work of palaeography.

Secondly this work will strive to prove by copious quotations from sources as far back as the eleventh century that palaeographical interest did not have its origin in the works of Papebroch and Mabillon but rather had tentacles which extended hundreds of years back throughout the various countries of Europe. Italy, France, Spain, Germany and England -- each country furnished its share of scholars whose work and study lay at the basis

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of Mabillon's great opus, the De Re Diplomatica.

And finally it shall attempt both to evaluate the contributions made by each of these scholars and to indicate their influence, if any, on the work of subsequent students in the field of Palaeography.

CHAPTER I
HIGHPOINTS IN DIPLOMATICS

Before we begin a history of Latin Palaeography it is necessary for us to arrive at a suitable definition of the scope of that science. Various interpretations of its range and function have been presented by its students from the time in which Dom Jean Mabillon first wrote his monumental work, the De Re Diplomatica. All are agreed that, considered in its broadest sense, palaeography is the knowledge of ancient scripts or writing, but they also insist that that statement must be limited to exclude all writing on hard substances. For the study of the inscriptions which have been chiseled in stone belongs to the realm of Epigraphy, while Numismatics embraces the writings to be found on metals and other such materials which men through the course of time have used for coins and medals.

Thus our definition would now read: Palaeography is the study of the ancient scripts to be found on soft pliable substances that had been especially prepared for writing, such as sheepskin (parchment), calfskin (vellum), leaves (papyrus) and less commonly, the bark of trees.

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1. De Re Diplomatica libri VI...Opera et studio domni Johannis Mabillon...Luteciae Parisiorum...1681.

To further delimitate the scope of our science it is necessary also to stress the fact that not all writing on such flexible materials falls properly under the realm of Palaeography, for we must observe the distinction made by Mabillon¹ between the script of manuscripts (*scriptura litteratoria*) and the script of private charters and 'diplomata' (*scriptura diplomatica*). It is with the former that the palaeographer is concerned.

But is palaeography confined solely to a study of the script and the writing material on which the script is found? Of course, not. For, as is quite evident to anyone who has done any work in the field, orthography, abbreviations, peculiar ligatures, the signatures of quires, and format (i.e., the arrangement of both words and columns) all feature prominently in the work of a palaeographer. Thus the square format of the oldest mss. with their unseparated words and simple letters and their propensity to use double columns,² the peculiarities of Spanish orthography,³ the excessive ornamentation, compression and insular *notae* of Irish mss.,⁴ the individuality of the Gothic

1. *Ibid.*, I, xi, 11, p.50.

2. E.A.Lowe, "Some Facts About Our Oldest Latin Mss.", in the *Classical Quarterly*, 1925, pp.197-208.

3. Agustín Millares Carlo, *Palaeografía Española*, Barcelona, 1929, pp.98-111.

4. W.M.Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, Cambridge University Press, 1915.

mss., when writing left the confines of the monasteries and descended into the hands of the individual copyist whose personal ingenuity dictated abbreviations, format and style, --- all of these factors properly belong to the science of palaeography. For as Mabillon himself has said:¹

Non ex sola scriptura, neque ex uno caracterismo, sed ex omnibus simul...pronuntiandum; neque enim unum est in uno saeculo unave provincia scripturae genus.

Thus a complete definition would now read as follows:

Palaeography is the science which treats of the knowledge and interpretation of the ancient scripts of mss. in the various stages of their development, together with a study of the format, orthography, signatures and abbreviations of the mss., and all for the purpose of enabling the student to arrive correctly at the dates and points of origin of all mss. which may come under his scrutiny.

While we fully realize that Mabillon's De Re Diplomatica was the first complete work in which Latin Palaeography was handled scientifically and analytically, yet multiple bits of concrete evidence prove that script. in its varying forms throughout the ages and in its diverse locales had engaged the interest of many scholars who had lived in the centuries before Mabillon. Some of this information has been contributed by men who were keenly aware of the contributions that they were making to the

1. Mabillon, op.cit.

study of ancient scripts, while a great percentage of it is gleaned merely from the critical observations of scribes, antiquarians, librarians or other scholars who, upon examining a particular ms., were fascinated enough by it to indicate that that ms. was written in "literis Saxoniceis" or "literis Longobardicis". Each such remark, small and inconsequential as it may seem, contributed toward laying the foundation for Mabillon's magnificent work.

Concurrent with this interest in script, and for the 16th and 17th centuries at least, the prime motive behind it, was the ever growing desire to formulate precise criteria by which it would be possible to establish accurately the authenticity of any written document or manuscript. No century has failed to provide us with evidence that false documents were recognized and handled as such. But those early critics can not be called palaeographers, for the scripts of the documents played little, or as is the case in most instances, no part at all in their investigations. Rather they confined their attention to seals, formulae, orthography and dates, together with an exhaustive study of the content --- always diligently searching for historical and/or chronological inaccuracies or incongruities. Thus they should be more properly classified as diplomatists, while the science which they

practiced has been termed Diplomatics.

But since Diplomatics and Palaeography both hold as their prime purpose the formulation of criteria by which the authenticity of a document or ms. may be established, and since the science of Palaeography is in fact an offshoot of Diplomatics, it is necessary for us here to present at least the highlights of this latter science.

As it already has been said, no century has failed to furnish us with evidence that false documents were recognized as such. Such forgeries originated for varied purposes. Typical would be the case of a town or community which would lay claim to a certain tract of land and offer as basis for ownership a document purportedly signed by the emperor or some such individual empowered to make the donation. Or a monastery might plead exemption from the jurisdiction of the presiding Bishop on the grounds that such a privilege was formerly granted them through a document executed by the Pope. Or a man might proffer a forged document as grounds for his claim to some title of nobility. And there can be found several instances where the sainthood of some real or

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1. Cf. the following standard works on Diplomatics: A. De Bouard, Manuel De Diplomatique, Paris, 1929; A. Giry, Manuel De Diplomatique, Paris, 1925; Harry Bresslau, Handbuch der Urkundenlehre, Vol. I, 2nd Ed., Leipzig, 1912.

fancied individual depended solely on the pretense of a document presented by those who for some reason or other stood to gain something by their claim. The human mind down through the ages has produced a fertile crop of such distortions. Medieval records, both edited and unedited, abound in them, and to reproduce in their entirety the attempts of men to expose them would fill to overflowing many a library shelf.

So that the development of the science may be seen, it is sufficient for our purpose to present here some of the more typical cases. However, it is necessary to remind the reader that most of these early critics were examining documents which belonged either to their own age or to the years recently past, so that their judgments depended on their acquaintance with contemporary usage or on their own ingenuity.

In fact, in the first example which appears here the decision of falsity rested in the hands of the man who was supposed to have signed the document. For in the time of Childebert II, (590), according to Gregory of Tours, Egidius, the Bishop of Reims, claiming ownership of certain lands, produced in his support certain charters supposedly written by the king. The king, however, upon examination, denied that he had made the donation and furthermore summoned his referendary, Otto, who should have signed the questionable documents. Otto also disclaimed

the signature, and the Bishop was found guilty of a forgery.¹

By the advent of the 12th century falsified papal documents had become so abundant that when in 1198 a cleric presented to the Church of Milan some documents which conceded to him a canonry, the suspicious canons sent them for inspection to the Pope, Innocent III. He, in a letter of September 4th replied that though the style and the form of the script caused him to be somewhat dubious, yet the seal was genuine; but he felt that since forgeries of this kind were encountered in ever increasing variety and multiplicity, it would be profitable for him to present therein the means by which falsifications might be ferreted out.² These rules of criticism are precise and .

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1. Hist. Franc. X, XIX in Monumenta Germanica Hist., Scriptores Rer. Merov., Vol. I, p. 432... "Villas vero, quas memoras, per istius regis chartas emerui." Tunc proferens easdem in publico, negat rex se haec largitum fuisse; requisitusque Otto, qui tunc referendarius fuerat, cuius ibi subscriptio meditata tenebatur, adfuit, negat se subscripsisse. Conficta enim erat manus eius in huius praeceptionis scripto. In hac igitur causa primum episcopus fallax repertus est."
 2. "Innocenti III Epist.", Migne Patrologia Latina, 214, c. 322. "Caeterum cum easdem litteras, sicut viri providi et discreti, ad nostram remisissetis praesentiam, ut ex earum inspectione plenius nosceremus utrum ex nostra conscientia processissent, plus in eis invenimus quam vestra fuisset discretio suspicata. Nam licet in stylo dictaminis et form(a) scripturae aliquantulum coeperimus dubitare, bullam tamen veram invenimus; quod primum nos in vehementem admirationem induxit, cum litteras ipsas sciremus de nostra conscientia nullatenus emanasse... Ut autem varietates huiusmodi falsitatis, quas hactenus deprehendimus, vos ipsi de caetero deprehendere valeatis, eas vobis praesentibus litteris duximus exprimendas."

establish Innocent III as the first important figure in the history of Diplomats. For in this response he specifies the following five ways of detecting a forgery, all of which have to do with the seal attached to the document:

Prima species falsitatis haec est, ut falsa bulla litteris apponatur. Secunda, ut filum de vera bulla extrahatur ex toto et per aliud filum immisum falsis litteris inseratur. Tertia, ut filum ab ea parte, in qua charta plicatur, incisum, cum vera bulla falsis litteris immittatur sub eadem plicatura cum filo similis canapis restauratum. Quarta, quae a superiori parte bullae altera pars filii sub plumbo rescinditur et per id filum litteris falsis inserta reducitur intra plumbum. Quinta, cum litteris bullatis et redditis aliquid in eis per rasuram tenuem immutatur.

But if, as in the case at hand, a genuine seal should be attached to a forged document, then the deception cannot be revealed except through an examination of the style, the form of the script and the quality of the charter.

Eos etiam a crimine falsitatis non reputamus immunes qui contra constitutionem praemissam scienter litteras nostras nisi de nostra vel bullatoris nostri manu recipiunt. Eos quoque qui accidentes ad bullas, falsas litteras caute projiciunt, ut

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1. The "filum" may be defined as a cord woven of silk or hemp which was used to attach to a document the seal ("bulla") which gave that document official approbation. Ordinarily silk cords were attached to documents which conferred certain privileges or rights, while those of hemp were used on letters of less importance. Each class had a certain number of characteristic qualities, used to render more difficult the fabrication of false documents. Cf. Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, Tome Deuxième. Première Partie - Paris, 1910, c.1258.

de vera bulla cum aliis sigillantur. Sed hae duae species falsitatis non possunt facile deprehendi, nisi vel in modo dictaminis vel in forma scripturae vel qualitate chartae falsitas cognoscatur.

Herein is contained what may well be the first written expression of the purpose and method of the science of palaeography. The shame is that the advice of Innocent, phrased so succinctly, remained unheeded by the diplomatists of the succeeding centuries and was merely hinted at by Conring, the outstanding figure of the Bella Diplomatica of the seventeenth century.¹

However, indicative of increased precision in diplomatic criticism is the work entitled "De Falsitate Privilegii, Austriam ab imperio eximentis", written by Petrarch in 1361 in response to the Emperor Charles IV, who had consulted him on the authenticity of the so called privileges accorded to Austria by Julius Caesar and Nero. Petrarch prefaces his letter with a few well chosen words about the ease with which a forgery may be detected by a man of quick intellect, particularly if the forgery should be the work of some student who had the desire to deceive but lacked the skill with which to do so cleverly. For forgers of this type, he continues, are wont to cloak a document with a certain amount of verisimilitude so that the unreal and

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1. Cf. my remarks on Conring, p.22 and sqq.
 2. Tomus II Francisci Petrarchae...Operum, in quo continentur, quae versa pagella recitantur. Rerum Senilium Lib. XV. Epist.V, pp.955-956, Basel, 1581.

untrue, because they are similar to what has really taken place, may be believed. But anyone, he warns, who would attempt to dissipate the power of the Roman Empire, as this document aims to do, should realize that this aim would never be accomplished by a forgery which is apparent even to the bleary-eyed¹. Thereupon Petrarch enters into a dissection of the document, submitting each word and sentence to a critical analysis so that proof of the falsity of this privilege may be patent to all.

To summarize briefly the development of his argument and to indicate the type of criticism which later became commonplace in Diplomatics, it is necessary to point out the following main points:

(1) The document reads: "Nos, Julius Caesar Imperator, nos Caesar et cultor deorum, nos supremus terrae imperialis Augustus". Who is so dull and so ignorant, Petrarch asks, as not to see that there are almost as many

1. *Ibid.*, "Claudum usquequaque mendacium est, facileprehenditur, acris ac velocis ingenii iudicium (sic) aegrefugit, producitur en mane (sic) Chirographum ampullosum, veri vacuo, per nescio quem, sed procul dubio non magistrum, iratumve hominem, sed scholasticum, rudemque literatorem, utique mentiendi avidum, sed fingendi mendacii artificium non habentem, quod si habuisset, nunquam certe tam insulas ineptias effudisset. Solent enim huiusmodi artifices, verisimilitudine aliqua, falsum condire, ut quod nunquam fuerit, quia tamen his quae fuerunt simile est, et id ipsum fuisse credi poscit, hic si forte Ius Romanum et imperii maiestatem armis ac legibus, et virtute fundatam, atque vallatam, nugis suis everti posse crederat, quod extreme erat insaniae, debuit saltem artificiosas nugas, et coloratum proferre mendacium, quod non statim oculis etiam lippientibus appareret ...".

errors in that statement as words? First consider the word "nos". Genuine letters and speeches of Julius Caesar prove that he never referred to himself except in the singular. Now look at the word "Augustus". Who does not see that it is not only false but ridiculous for Julius Caesar to call himself by that title since the title actually originated with Caesar's successor? Read the works of Florus, Suetonius, Orosius and Eutropius, and you will find this. In fact, Petrarch adds, I thought that this was known to all boys who merely touched the threshold of a school:

"Nos (inquit) Julius Caesar Imperator, nos Caesar Imperator, nos Caesar, et cultor deorum, nos supremus terrae imperialis Augustus et reliqua"... Quis tam hebes, rerumque inscius usquam est, qui non iam hinc apertis oculis videat, totidem prope mendacia esse, quot verba...Ipse (Caesar) tamen de se numquam cum militibus etiam suis, nisi singulariter loqui solitus invenitur...Sunt penes me, ipsius de quo agitur Iulii Caesaris aliquot familiares epistolae, nam eiusdem orationes, apud Lucanum atque alios multae, apud Sallustium una, quae dici possent, non illius, sed scribentium arbitrio dictatae. Epistolas autem idem ipse dictavit, e quibus exempli gratia paula decerpsi.....Nam quod se Caesar hic Iulius, Augustum vocet non falsum modo, sed ridiculum quis non videt. Siquidem nomen hoc, ab illius successore principium habuisse putabam pueris, qui vel scholae limen attigissent omnibus, notum esse, lege Annei, Flori, lege Suetonii Tranquilli, lege Orosii, lege Eutropii, lege denique omnium historias. Nullus hoc ignoravit, praeter hunc asellum importunissime nunc rudentem.

(2) The document mentions Caesar's uncle. But where did the forger find such information since you neither read nor hear about such a person elsewhere?

(3) Consider the manner of dating. Who but a mad man would say that a document was "datum Romae die Veneris,"

regni nostri anno primo" without giving the date and the month?

(4) The document ascribes the title "Rex" to Caesar while in fact, Caesar, knowing, the unpopularity of such a word among the Roman people, shrunk from such a title as he would from an obscene name.

(5) The letter attributed to Nero may be refuted in much the same way.

(6) Finally the style of both letters is "rudis ac

1. Ibid., "Iam quod sequitur nescio, quis avunculus manufactus, mirum penitus, quid ita Iulii Caesaris avunculus in illis tantum literulis notus sit, nusquam omnino alibi lectus, vel auditus, praesertim cum ipsius pater Caesaris, vel nulli vel paucissimis cognitus habeatur.

.....
 Quid quod data literarum apertissime falsa est? Ubi nec dies certus, nec Cos. ascribitur. Quis enim nisi amens dicat, datum Romae die Veneris, regni nostri anno primo, et non adiciat quius mensis quota sit dies,...Nam quod ait regni nostri, si a veritate semotus est, ut non risum modo, sed bilem excitet, stomachumque concutiat. Caesar enim ut audisti Imperator et Pontifex et Dictator dici voluit. Rex numquam. Reges Romae septem legimus, prima urbis aetate, si qui post illos regnare voluerunt, vel gladio caesi vel de saxo Capitolii praecipites acti sunt...Non magis certe se regem diceret, aut dici vellet, quam scurram, quam adulterum, quam lenonem, imo vel multo etiam minus, illa enim turpia et obscena, regium vero cognomen odiosum nimis, et periculosum, et importabile Romae fuit, vis hoc clarum fieri
Haec ad Iulii Caesaris fabulam, rudi et inepto mendaciorum fabulatori dicta sint. Quorum bona pars, Neronianae convenit fabellae...Haec sunt Imperator Auguste, quae in praesens sine magna (sic) se obtulerant studio, praeter utriusque stylum epistolae, qua a principio ad exitum, totus rudis ac novus est, ut sicut est,...Ita totus ab eo, quod videri vult, ab antiquitate scilicet ac Caesareo, remotus est stylo, quo fortassis anus credula, seu montanus agricola, at non certe vir intelligens falli possit."

novus" and removed wholly from the ancient manner and style of Caesar. Only a credulous old woman or a rustic from the hills would be deceived by it.

Thus is evident Petrarch's manner of criticizing a document, a laborious but accurate technique which succeeded, it is true, in disproving the document, but failed in assigning the date and point of origin. How much more comprehensive the method of the palaeographer whose trained eye would immediately focus on tell-tale signs of locale and time.

A similar method to that of Petrarch, but much more detailed, is that which may be observed in Lorenzo Valla's verbose and virulent attempt in 1443 to disprove the validity of the so called Donation of Constantine, the charter which purported to reproduce a legal document in which the emperor Constantine, recalling his Baptism and the cure of his leprosy at the hands of Pope Sylvester (314-336), confirmed the privilege of that pontiff as head of all the clergy, conferred upon him extensive imperial property in various parts of the world with the right to wear the tiara and the diadem, granted the Roman clergy the rank of the highest Roman orders and their privileges, gave Sylvester and his successors freedom in consecrating men for certain orders of the clergy, granted Sylvester Rome, all of Italy and the western province, and stated his own determination to retire to Byzantium in order

that the presence of a temporal ruler might not embarrass ecclesiastical authority. The exact wording of this fantastic donation is as follows:

Utile iudicavimus...Pontifices...principatus potestatem amplius quam terrena imperialis nostrae serenitatis mansuetudo habere videtur, concessam a nobis nostroque imperio obtineant...Atque decernentes sancimus, ut principatum teneat tam super quatuor praecipuas sedes, Alexandrinam, Antiochenam, Ierosolimitianam, Constantinopolitanam, quam etiam super omnes in universo orbe terrarum ecclesiis Dei...Ecclesiis beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli...praedia contulimus, et rebus diversis eas ditavimus.....#2. Beato Silvestro...contradimus palatii nostri Lateranense, deinde diadema, videlicet coronam capitis nostri, simulque frigium nec non superhumale...et clamidem purpuream, atque tunicam coccineam, et omnia imperialia indumenta. Viris autem reverentissimis clericis in diversis ordinibus eidem sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae servientibus illud culmen singularitate, potentia, et praecellentia habere sancimus, cuius amplissimus noster senatus videtur gloria adornari, id est patricios atque consules effici, nec non et ceteris dignitatibus imperialibus eos promulgemus decorari... Pre omnibus autem licentiam tribuimus ipsi sanctissimo Patri nostro Silvestro et successoribus ex nostro indicto, ut quem placatus proprio consilio clericare voluit, et in religiosorum numero clericorum connumerare.....Ut pontificalis apex non vilescat, sed magis quam terrenam imperii dignitas gloria et potentia decoretur, ecce tam palatium nostrum...quam Romanam urbem, et omnes Italiae seu occidentalium regionum provincias, loca et civitates prefato beatissimo Pontifici nostro Silvestro universali Papae contradimus atque relinquimus, et ab eo et a successoribus eius per hanc divalem nostram et pragmaticum constitutum decernimus disponenda atque iuri sanctae Romanae ecclesiae concedimus permansura. #7. Unde congruum perspeximus nostrum imperium et regni potestatem in orientalibus transferri regionibus, et in Bizantiae provinciae optimo loco nomini nostro civitatem edificari, et nostrum illic constitui imperium, quoniam ubi principatus sacerdotum et Christianae religionis caput ab imperatore celesti constitutum est, iustum non est, ut illic imperator terrenus habeat potestatem.....Unde coram Deo vivo...obtestamur...omnes nostros successores imperatores vel cunctos optimates, satrapas etiam, amplissimum senatum, et universum populum...nunc et in posterum cunctis retro temporibus

imperio nostro subiacentem, nulli eorum quoquomodo licere hec aut infringere, aut in quoquam convellere... Datum Romae 3. Calend. Aprilis, Domino nostro Flavio Constantino Augusto quarto, et Gallicano V.C.Coss. 1

Valla's treatment of this document, entitled "De Falsa et Ementita Donatione Constantini", employed a method of criticism which embraced not only individual words but also basic ideas and thus has been looked upon as a landmark in the rise of Historical Science. Nevertheless, Valla does have a lesson to learn in objectivity, for however much he proclaims his unbiased devotion to truth,² he does have an axe to grind. He is vigorously and virulently anti-Papist.

He develops his arguments in the manner of suasoriae, that is, hypothetical speeches delivered by the persons concerned -- by Sylvester, at the presentation of the Donation and by Constantine's children and the Roman senate and people when informed that Constantine was dissipating their empire. His main points may be summarized as follows:

(1) Emperors delight in increasing rather than decreasing their empires. Why should Constantine give his empire

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1. The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine, edited by Christopher Coleman, Yale U. Press, 1922, p. 7 sqq.
 2. Ibid., "...in defendenda veritate atque iustitia profundere animam summae virtutis, summae laudis, summi praemii est...Forti animo, magna fiducia, bona ope, defendenda est causa veritatis, causa iustitiae, causa Dei!...Neque vero id ago et quemquam cupiam insectari et in eum quasi Philippicas scribere...sed ut errorem a mentibus hominum convellam."

away? Because he became a Christian? Would it be a crime to reign after Baptism? Would his children allow him to deprive them of their heritage? Wouldn't the "Senatus Populusque Romanus" offer their objection? Would they not remind him that he had no right to give the empire away? If he had not heeded the entreaty of the S.P.Q.R., his friends and family, would not Sylvester have refused the gift? Would not Sylvester have spoken thus?²

Quo mihi divitias atque opes, qui Domini voce iubeor nec de crastino esse sollicitus, et cui dictum est ab illo: 'Nolite thesaurizare super terram etc.'... Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas...Et tu me accipere iubes, Caesar, quae velut venenum effugere debeo!...Quid quod necesse haberem potestatem exercere sanguinis, punire sones, bella gerere, urbes diripere, regiones ferro ignique vastare! ...Et si haec fecero, sacerdos, pontifex, Christi vicarius, sum?...Nostra potestas est potestas clavium...Quare, Caesar,...noli mihi diabolus effici qui Christum, id est me, regna mundi a te data accipere iubeas.

(2) There is nothing extant in Greek and Latin authors about Sylvester's acceptance of the gift. Is it possible that there should be no account of his possession and dispossession? We know the names of Roman kings and consuls.

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1. Ibid., p.28 sqq. "Quid iucundius, quid gratius contingere solet, quam accessionem imperiis vestris vos regnisque adiungere!...Credo scelus erat, flagitium, nefas iam regnare, nec cum Christiana religione coniungi poterat regnum...Multisque aliis principibus sacramentum veritatis Deus aperiri voluit, a nullo...eorum exegit ut imperio cederet, ut partem regni donaret....An senatus populusque Romanus sibi tanta in re nihil agendum putasset?...Quare...Caesar, si non libet te Romae principatum tenere, habes filios, quorum aliquem in locum tuum, nobis quoque permittentibus ac rogantibus, naturae lege substituas."
 2. Ibid., p.50 sqq.

Yet we know nothing of this Sylvestrian kingdom.

(3) It is not true that a copy of the Donation was found in the Decrees of Gratian, for it is not evident in the oldest mss.
2

(4) Certain words and expressions are not consonant with those used in the time of Constantine. (a) ³Who ever heard of 'satrapas' in the councils of the Romans? (b) Why did the forger write 'princeps sacerdotibus' for 'princeps sacerdotum', and 'totius mundi' for 'in universo orbe terrarum'?
4

(5) How could the writer speak of Constantinople as one of the patriarchal sees, when at the time in which this was supposed to have been written, Constantinople was not yet a patriarchate or a see? For in the next statement, he says that he is going to build his city in the province of Bizantia. If he was merely planning to build the city, he

1. Ibid., p.60 sqq. "Nunc de illa non constat...Age, fuit in possessione Silvester? Quis eum de possessione dedecit?...Et quod non minus admirari debeas, per quos hoc gestum sit, quo tempore, quo modo, quamdiu, prorsus ignotum. Putes in silvis inter arbores regnasse Silvestrum, non Romae, et inter homines...Romanum autem, sive Sylvestrianum, Imperium, qua ratione inceperit, aut qua desierit, quando, per quos...nescitur."
2. Ibid., p.74. "Et ante omnia non modo ille qui Gratianus videri voluit, qui non nulla ad opus Gratiani adiecit, improbitatis arguendus est, verum etiam inscitiae qui opinantur paginam privilegii apud Gratianum contineri; quod neque docti umquam putarunt, et in vetustissimis quibusque editionibus (codicibus) decretorum non invenitur."
3. Ibid., p.82. "Quis umquam satrapas in conciliis Romanorum nominari audivit?"
4. Ibid., p.92.

could not speak of it as if already accomplished.

(6) Let ²us speak, Valla says, about the stupidity of the language, the use of the word 'militia' for 'milites', 'exstat' for 'est', ⁴'nempe' for 'scilicet', 'concubitores' for 'contubernales', 'papa' for the Roman Pontiff ⁵even though that term was not in use in Constantine's time, 'civitas' ⁶for 'urbs', and finally the word 'datum' at the end of the document, an expression which is usually written on letters ⁷not on documents.

Valla concludes his oratorical exercise with a derisive expose of the ignorance and dishonesty of the popes of Rome, who were responsible, he says, for the credence given the Donation of Constantine. Why, at Rome they show you a codex of the Bible which they claim was written by the hand of Jerome. When he examined it, he found that it

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1. Ibid., p.94. "Quid, quod multo est absurdius...ut quis de Constantinopoli loqueretur tamquam una patriarchalium sedium quae nondum esset nec patriarchalis, nec sedes, nec urbs Christiana, nec sic nominata, nec condita, nec ad condendum destinata? Quippe privilegium concessum est triduo (sic) quod Constantinus esset effectus Christianus, cum Byzantium adhuc erat, non Constantinopolis... Si sic volebat aedificare urbem, nondum aedificaverat."
 2. Ibid., p.104. "In praesentiarum autem de barbarismo cum hoc sycophanta loquamur, cuius ex stultiloquio impudentissimum eius patescit sua sponte mendacium."
 3. Ibid., p.110.
 4. Ibid., p.114.
 5. Ibid., p.120. "Transeo quod...vocas...papam pontificem Romanum, qui nondum peculiariter sic appellari erat coeptus."
 6. Ibid., p.126. "Taceo quod dixit civitates aedificari, cum urbes aedificentur non civitates."
 7. Ibid., p.138. "...in epistolis scribi solere 'datum' non autem in ceteris nisi apud indoctos."

was written by an uneducated man at the bidding of King Robert.¹

Christianity, he continues, does not need the patronage of falsehood; it is maintained satisfactorily by itself and by its own light and truth without those lying and deceitful fables.² Thus he admires the lives of the saints, but he wants no part of those apocryphal legends which are the invention either of infidels who aimed to ridicule Christians by passing off these stories as true or of the faithful who did not fear to write false stories not only about the deeds of the saints but even about the Mother of God. We separate false coins from real ones, Valla continues, but we retain³ and defend false doctrine, mingling it with the truth. The guilt, of course, for all these and for the Donation of

1. Ibid., p.140. "Romae ex auctoritate papae ostenditur codex Bibliae...quod dicunt scriptum chirographo Hieronymi. Quaeris argumentum? Quid multum...est pictae vestis et auri res quae magis Hieronymi manu indicat scriptum non esse. Illud ego diligentius inspectum comperi scriptum esse jussu regis, ut opinor, Roberti chirographi huiusmodi imperiti."
2. Ibid., p.146. "Non desiderat sinceritas Christiana patrocinium falsitatis; satis per se, superque sua ipsius luce ac veritate defenditur, sine istis commenticiis ac praestigiosis fabellis, in Deum, in Christum, in Spiritum Sanctum contumeliosissimis."
3. Ibid., p.150. "Neque ego admirationi sanctorum derogo, nec ipsorum divina opera abnuo...Immo defendo illa ac tueor, sed misceri cum fabulis non sino. Nec persuaderi possum hos scriptores alios fuisse quam aut infideles, qui hoc agerent in derisum Christianorum, si haec fragmenta per dolosos homines in manus imperitorum delata acciperentur pro veris, aut fideles habentes quidem emulationem Dei, sed non secundum scientiam, qui non modo de gestis sanctorum, verum etiam Dei genitricis atque adeo Christi improba quaedam pseudevangelia scribere non reformidarunt...Nummos reprobos discernimus separamus..."

Constantine lies, as far as Valla is concerned, with the popes, one of whom he feels was the actual author of that false document. ¹ Moreover the very fact that the popes have been solicitous that each succeeding emperor ratify the Donation ² is sufficient proof that even they distrusted its legality. But they, he concludes, are avaricious and hold in their grasp for private gain in a manner such as not even Verres or Catiline would dare to hope for not only the 'rem publicam' but also the 'rem ecclesiasticam et Spiritum Sanctum'. ³ After reading this last vicious excursus, you cannot but lament the fact that Valla did not live to see the work of Launoy entitled De Cura Ecclesiae pro Sanctis et Sanctorum Reliquiis ac Sacris Officiis ab omni Falsitate Vindicandis, ⁴ in which Launoy proves by quotations from the writings of the Fathers, theologians, and Church Councils the care and diligence exercised by the Church in

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1. Ibid., p.154. "...multa similia quae transeo...Haec dicta sint, ut nemo miretur, si donationem Constantini commenticiam fuisse papae multi non potuerunt deprehendere, tametsi ab aliquo eorum ortam esse hanc fallaciam reor."
 2. Ibid., p.162. "Verum quid sibi vult ista vestra, pontifices Romani, sollicitudo quod a singulis Imperatoribus donationem Constantini exigitis confirmari, nisi quod iuri diffiditis vestro?"
 3. Ibid., p.178. "...dico...neminem mea aetate in summo pontificatu fuisse aut fidelem dispensatorem aut prudentem; qui tantum abest ut dederit familiae Dei cibum,Papa et alienas sitit opes, et suas exsorbet... Papa non modo rempublicam, quod non Verres, non Catilina, non quisquam peculator auderet, sed etiam rem ecclesiasticam et Spiritum Sanctum quaestui habet."
 4. Cf. infra, p.84, sqq.

seeking the truth and avoiding falsity.

Thus concludes Valla's vehement and venomous tirade. Little wonder it is that later on more sober critics of documents, such as Herman Conring, preface their work by reminding the reader that they intend to face the issues involved in the dispute and not indulge in derogatory criticism of personalities. Valla's method is still far removed from that of the diplomatists of the seventeenth century, and in fact seems to have deteriorated in some respects from that presented by Petrarch in the preceding century. For while Petrarch presented genuine documents of Julius Caesar to be compared with the forgery as to words and expressions used therein, Valla is content to indulge himself in lengthy oratorical exercises reminiscent of the controversiae and suasoriae of the rhetorical schools of the first century A.D. and to make only unsupported claims as to the differences between words found in the questionable donation and other Constantinian documents.

Thus it is that it is not until the seventeenth century that there is evident any truly meritorious example of diplomatic criticism, for then it is that the Bella Diplomatica make their appearance in great abundance. Bella Diplomatica may be defined as legal actions entered into by cities or monasteries in defense of certain privileges or property, in the course of which actions the authenticity of the documents produced by the claimants was

contested by the adversaries.¹

Preeminent among these seventeenth century diplomatists and hailed by scholars as the initiator of true methodical diplomatic criticism was Herman Conring, whose defensive action for the state against the monastery of Lindau, entitled Censura Diplomatis Quod Ludovico Imperatori Fert Acceptum Coenobium Lindaviense, merited the following accolade from Ludewig:

Opusculum hoc, instar thesauri haberi debet rerum facientium ad artem Diplomaticam. Illud etiam dici potest, quod Conringius primus fuerit Doctor illius, unde plura habet Mabillonius.

Bresslau, crediting Conring with the formation of the method from which has come all improvement in modern diplomatic criticism, speaks as follows:

In dieser Schrift ist zum ersten Male in systematischer Weise der methodisch richtige Weg eingeschlagen worden, die Regeln für die Beurteilung einer zweifelhaften Urkunde aus der Vergleichung anderer, für unzweifelhaft echt geltender Urkunden desselben

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1. The name *Bella Diplomatica* was given to all these struggles by their first historian, Ludewig -- De Usu et Prae-stantia Diplomatum et Diplomaticae Artis. Porro de Bellis Diplomaticis cum in Gallia excitatis tum in Italia atque in supremis Germanici imperii tribunalibus. Preface to Vol. I of his Reliquiae Manuscriptorum, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1720 - in 8. A very complete bibliography of the *Bella Diplomatica* may be found in Daniel Baring's Clavis Diplomatica, Hanover, 1737.
 2. For a complete analysis of the Lindau controversy, cf. "Das Bellum Diplomaticum Lindaviense" by G.M. von Knonau in Historische Zeitschrift 26, pp.75-130, Munchen, 1871.
 3. Published first at Helmstadt in 1672 and included in Hermanni Conringii... Operum Tomus II. curante et illustrante Johanne Wilhelmo Goebelio, Brunsvigae, 1730.
 4. Ludewig, op.cit.; p.57.
 5. Bresslau, op.cit.; p.22.

Ausstellers zu gewinnen; und auf der Durchführung dieses Gedankens beruhen vorzugsweise der Wert der Abhandlung und das Verdienst ihres Verfassers um unsere Wissenschaft. Dass er dabei im einzelnen vielfach irren musste, lag an der Dürchtigkeit des ihm für jene Vergleichung, die er auf Schrift, Sprache und Formeln anwandte, zu Gebote stehenden Materials.

The case may be summarized as follows: The monastery at Lindau, on the basis of a document which they asserted was issued by Louis the German in 866, laid claim to certain rights embraced by the document. Conring, pleading the case of the state against the monastery, by a comparison of the document with genuine documents of Louis, proved that the Lindau privilege could not have been written in the ninth century but three centuries later.

He prefaces his argument by an apologetic word to the monastery to the effect that they should not be angry at him for declaring the document a forgery but rather should react as the Holy See does to such discoveries, that is, with prudence:

Nec tamen fas esse, ut propterea coenobium illud cuiquam succenseat sed componere sese illud debere ad exemplum romanae curiae. Nec tamen fremit... romana Pontificum curia, non incandescit, sed prudenter dissimulat proditam quamvis inveteratam et in ipsum monarchiae suae fundamentum confictam falsitatem atque imposturam.

And then further on as a direct rebuff to the type of tactics employed by Valla, he proclaims that he intends to prove his point rationally and in a manner that will be

1. Conring, op.cit., Ch.I, p.574.

free from sarcasm and "bilem foeminarum".¹ This excellent promise he adheres to firmly. There is none of the vituperation in his work which is so evident in that of Petrarch and Lorenzo Valla.

After presenting the entire text of the Lindau document, Conring states that it is now necessary for him to examine the genuine documents from the age in which this was supposedly written, with this aim in mind, that if the Lindau Document should be found to be wholly different from these, then it could not avoid suspicion of falsity.² His examination, he informs us, will include not all the documents of the Caroline age, but merely those which may be assigned with surety to Louis the Pious and his son Louis, the king of Germany.³ He has to be content with only two

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1. Ibid., p.574: "Nec vero ego vel verbulo acerbior irritabo bilem foeminarum; aut eorum, qui iis patrocinantur, indignationem; sed rationibus duntaxat et rerum testimoniis contendam; ceu fieri par est in palaestra veritatis."
 2. Ibid., Ch.III, p.575-6: "Quod si sane a reliquis diversae hoc plane fuerit formae, non potest non vel eo ipso falsitatis esse suspectum."
 3. Ibid., "Omnia...ex carolino aevo diplomata congerere, neque exigit hoc institutum...vix tangemus...alia...quae versantur circa coenobiorum dotationes aut imperatorias regiasque dotationum confirmationes. Nec...illa...omnia, sed sola ista, quae Ludovicus Pius Imperator, ejusque filius Ludovicus Germaniae Rex, conscribi fecerunt... Haec...quoniam hyperaspista coenobii...suum illud Ludovico isti Germaniae Regi fert acceptum. Illa...quandoquidem res docebit, solum Ludovicum Pium imperatorio nomine in Germania audivisse; et reperiri in diplomate isthoc coenobiali nonnulla, quae uni illi Pio Imperatori possunt convenire."

complete and two incomplete documents of Louis the Pious,¹ while he has more samples of Louis the German (two complete and sixteen incomplete), whom the monastery claims as the source of their document. It is well to mention here the very important fact, particularly for the palaeographer, that Conring does not use the original mss. but merely printed editions of the documents.

Having now gathered his materials, he is ready to prove clearly that the Lindau document originated neither from Louis the Pious nor from Louis the German. One vindicator of the document had previously stated that the document signed in 866 was written by Louis the Pious who, Conring points out, died in 840. But the defence, explaining this incongruity, claimed that the "diversitas characterum" between the subscription and the body of the document proves that the subscription was a later addition of an untrained hand. Conring laments the fact that he did not have the opportunity of examining the autograph to make his own decision on the age of the script, but he feels that his contention is proven by the fact that in the Lindau document Hrabanus Maurus is called the Metropolitan of Mayence, although it is known that Maurus attained that rank in 847, which was the eighth year after the death of Louis the

1. Ibid., p.577.

2. Ibid., p.580.

¹
 Pious. Thus, since this document could not have been written by Louis the Pious, he enters into his main argument, namely, that it was not written by Louis the German.

(1) The Linday document assigns to Louis the German the title 'Imperator', but all the documents which Conring has reproduced and which may be assigned with certainty to Louis the German, plus some others, thirty six in all, are testimony that Louis the German was called 'Rex', not ² 'Imperator', at least while the son of Lothar was living. But since Louis the German had been called 'Imperator' mistakenly by some writers from the 11th century on, then it is evident that the fabricator of the Lindau document, writing several centuries after Louis, clung to this error and attached his name thus to the forgery. ³

1. Ibid., p.592: "Quod si inspiciundi ipsum autographum facultas nobis esset, fortassis haud difficulter appareat omnium una eademque aetas. Saltem itaque hactenus manet obstaculum: quod non possit diploma acceptum referri Ludovico Pio, quia ille jam viginti sex annos ante diplomatibus confectionem e vivis excessit...In diplomate...Rhabanus appellatur 'sanctae ecclesiae moguntinae Metropolita': ille vero, demum anno 847, octavo post obitum Pii anno, dignitatem illam archiepiscopalem est consecutus."
2. Ibid., p.596: "Igitur Ludovicum nostrum non dictum Imperatorem, vivente quidem Lotharii filio, sed Regis nomine fuisse contentum, probatur PRIMO omnibus genuinis adhuc superstitionibus diplomatibus. Produximus...integra septemdecim...in quibus...omnibus nusquam Imperatoris sed solo Regis titulo, Ludovicus hic noster semetipsum fecit appellari...Numerari a me potuerunt ad septemdecim priora mea, diplomata novemdecim...Quae summa facit diplomata triginta sex."
3. Ibid., p.604: "A nonnullis scriptoribus Germanicum Ludovicum Pii filium imperatorio cognomento esse quidem appellatum, sed per errorem et demum a seculo usque undecimo. In eodem errore autem haesisse ipsum quoque diplomatibus coenobialis fabricatorem; ac proinde illud aliquot...post Ludovicum...seculis esse confictum."

(2) Moreover, the document has the seal of Louis the Pious, not Louis the German, although the forger wished it to be apparent that it was written in the twenty sixth year of the reign of Louis the German, i.e., 866.¹

(3) The document mentions Adalbert as the only founder of the Lindau monastery, yet burial stones prove that there were three founders, none of whom was named Adalbert.²

(4) In the Lindau document, Adalbert is given the title 'Comes Sacri Palatii', but the use of such a title indicates that the document was written not in the ninth century but after the time of Frederick I.³ Moreover, the very title 'Comes Sacri Palatii' is a fabrication. 'Comes Palatii' is frequently mentioned, but there is no document of the old French kings in which you will find 'Comes Sacri Palatii'. For the duties of the 'Comes Palatii' were secular and civic, not religious. What need would there be

1. *Ibid.*, Ch.VIII, p.610: "Praeterquam quod non Germanici, sed Pii Ludovici, atque adeo alieno Sigillo et Manus signo, diplomati Lindaviensi sit subscriptum, falso referre illud, se conditum anno Ludovici Germanici vicesimo sexto, aut Dominico octingentesimo sexagesimo sexto, ostenditur certissimis indiciis."
2. *Ibid.*, Ch.IX, p.613: "Contra quam diploma dicit de Adalberto unico conditore coenobii, demonstratur, fuisse, tres conditores, interque eos neminem Adalbertum appellatum."
3. *Ibid.*, Ch.XI, p.631: "Neminem aetate veterum Francorum Regum aut Imperatorum audisse Comitem SACRI Palatii. Quum tamen in diplomate ita usurpetur Adalbertus, indicio id certo esse, non illud diploma confectum seculo Christiano nono: per autem verosimile, ab impostore esse fabricatum post tempora denique Friderici primi Imperatoris."

for the word 'sacri'¹?

(5) The impostor made two mistakes in reference to the men who interceded for the granting of the privilege. (a) The document has the emperor address the bishops by the title 'illustrium', yet Frankish kings and emperors used the word 'Venerabiles' when addressing bishops.² (b) Hrabanus Maurus is listed as one of the intercessors, but he was dead ten years at the time when he was supposed to have intervened for the establishment of the monastery.³

(6) The document assigns the adjectival name 'Lindaugia' to the monastery, yet the monastery did not move to the island of Lindau until 910. Moreover, genuine documents of the Louis' do not use adjectival names but record locale in the following manner:⁴ "Teutpaldus Abbas ex monasterio, quod est constructum in honore S.Mauritii martyris in loco

1. *Ibid.*, p.632-3: "Id ipsum unico illo testor augmento; quia ex omni francicorum Regum aevo nullum vestigium... Sacri Palatii Comitibus, aut Sacri Palatii, quando de civilium negotiorum curatione res est...Negenus, in ullo Francorum veterum Regum monumento occurrere illud Comes Sacri Palatii."
2. *Ibid.*, Ch.XII, p.637: "Haec sola, quamvis, pauca, possunt utique docere stilum...curiae, quodque non Imperatores duntaxat et Reges, sed etiam ipsimet Papae, non 'illustris', sed 'venerabiles' appellare Episcopos tum soliti sint. Edita...sunt integra volumina ecclesiasticorum donationum ab Imperatoribus et Regibus nostris profectorum...in quibus observare est, illum titulum 'venerabilis' non isto duntaxat carolino seculo, sed etiam aliquot sequentibus seculis, tantum non in perpetuo mansisse usu literarum curiae imperialis aut regiae."
3. *Ibid.*, p.642: "Rabanus vero jam defunctus fuit anno dominico seculi illius non quinquagesimo sexto: adeo jam effluxerat integrum ab obitu illius decennium, quando diploma conditum esse voluit impostor...".
4. *Ibid.*, Ch.XIV, p.650.

qui dicitur Allaha".

Conring interrupts his criticism at this point with a discussion of the locale of the Lindau monastery, but he returns again to the task at hand not because he feels that the document has not been already fully discredited but so that it may become apparent that even in minute details it is impossible for any inveterate artificer to conceal 'Sinonias suas artes'.¹ Thus he proceeds to offer other indications of falsity among which may be found the following:

(10) According to the Lindau document Adalbert asked Louis to make the presentation to the monastery 'pro redemptione animae nostrae nec non parentum nostrorum'. Conring asserts that while he might possibly have asked the king or emperor for some gift for the redemption of his own soul, it does not seem possible that he dared to ask for any such thing for the redemption of the souls of the parents of the king or emperor, or that a minister of the court would dare to refer to the unhappy status of the soul of Louis the Emperor twenty six years after his death.² However, during the Caroline age royal and imperial documents generally included prayers for the salvation not only of the king or emperor

1. *Ibid.*, Ch.XV, p.661.

2. *Ibid.*, p.661: "Animae...Iudovici Pii Imperatoris infelicem statum sexto vicesimo post obitum anno, ministrum aulicum primatium Regi filio ausum quasi exprobare, dixeris nefas aut certe perquam imprudens facinus."

but also of their families.¹ But since in the Lindau document this practice is not observed, the document was not written in the Caroline age nor by a scribe of the king but long after by an impostor unskilled in ancient ways.

(2) From a palaeographical point of view, this next argument is the most important, for Conring speaks in the following vein. If the Lindau document were written in the chancellory of Louis the German, then the characters of the letters which were in use at that time and which are evidenced by the remaining records of that age should be seen in the document. But the defender of the document (Conring neglects to tell us who he is) has reproduced 'ad formam authenticam' only the subscription and keeps us in ignorance, Conring adds, about the script of the rest of the document. Therefore, he warns, we should trust not even the appearance of the subscription since we have not been permitted to compare it with the original. Let the members of the monastery produce the authentic copy. Let them expose it for examination to the eyes of those 'qui veterum characterum, veterum membranarum, veteris atramenti scriptorii

1. *Ibid.*, "In universum igitur non est, quod dubitemus, isthac tempestate carolingica, preces publicas solere mandari in diplomatibus non pro unius Regis aut Imperatoris, sed conjugis quoque ac prolis regis salute. Quoniam igitur in hoc diplomate lindaviensi idem non est observatum, consequens est, non esse illud ex isthoc aevo, nec a scribis regis confectum, sed a rerum veterum imperito impostore longo demum post tempore suppositum esse."

sunt gnari', and then we will be able to make a decision. As it stands, Conring continues, there are discrepancies between the edition as produced by the defender of the document and that of Heider who argued the case of the state. But even so we are convinced that the document was written not in the ninth century but long after, and he bases this statement on the use of the diphthong *Æ* and *æ* which is seen so often in the edition of the defender that it is unnecessary to count the number of instances. But such a ligature of the diphthong AE was not in use during the age of Louis, for which fact documents and mss. (tabulae et libri) written at that time are clear evidence. In all these the mark of the diphthong is omitted by the 'scribis et librariis', and simple "E" is shown in its place, and when the diphthong was used, it was wont to be

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1. Ibid., Ch. XVII: "Si diploma in cancellaria Ludovici Germanici Regis fuerit conscriptum, adhibiti sunt literarum characteres, illo tempore cancellariae familiares. Jam vero quoniam fuerint tunc in usu, abunde docent tot superstites illius aevi regiae tabulae...Solam subscriptionem aere curavit hyperaspista exprimi, ad formam authenticam: quem admodum reliqua sese habeant, sedulo fecit ignorari. Ne vel illi, quod aere est expressum, secure credamus, nulla hactenus facta cum ipso autographo collatione, iubet coenobii in diplomate toto confingendo veteratoria audacia. Et profecto illius officinae etiam tutissima quaeque prudens merito timeat. Non sane licet sum eiusmodi hominibus in tenebris micare. Producant igitur coenobiales diplomatis in authenticum exemplar. Exponant illud oculis eorum, qui veterum characterum, veterum membranarum, veteris atramenti scriptorii sunt gnari, iisque examinandum exhibeant."

written in separate letters, i.e., 'a e', and never in lig-
 1 ature. As corroborating evidence he offers the letter which

Claudius Salmasius wrote to Claudius Sarravius:

Addo nonnulla quibus dignosci possit antiquitas exemplarium manuscriptorum. Si quibus in libris MSS. diphthongus reperiatur AE duabus literis non in unam coalitis, sed separatim, expressa ad hunc modum AE aut ae, scias codices illos vetustos esse imprimis et fidei manu confectos. Si aliter efficta occurrat, aut per unam literam ex duabus conflata, per unicam e, cui nota supposita sit hoc modo e: qui primo modo scripti sunt paulo maiorem vetustatem redolent; qui secundo ad infimum seculum relegari debent.

For it is clear, Conring says, that if the orthography and latinity of a document clearly deflect from the usage of the time or the chancellory from which it was supposed to have arisen, then a falsity has been perpetrated.

Hoc vero firmum manet, et orthographicam et reliquam latinitem, quae a more temporis aut Cancellariae plane dissidet, significare commissam falsitatem.²

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1. Ibid., Ch. XVII: "Hyperaspistica porro editio diplomatis ipsiusmet differt ab altera etiam illa... Quomodo autem cupique habeat sese ipsum authenticum diplomatis exemplum, volumus nos... contenti nunc esse eo, quem jam tum expressimus fide hyperaspistae. Ac proinde ut ad rem progrediamur, non dubitamus profiteri, neutiquam diploma nono Christi seculo, sed longe demum post tempore scriptum esse, freti indicio unius diphthongi **Æ** aliquoties adhibiti. Enim vero legas ibi 'Æcclesi, Æcclesia, Æcclesias, Æstate'. Minor eiusdem diphthongi forma adeo grequenter in diplomate occurrit, ut pigeat numerare. Illa scilicet diphthongi figura neutiquam aevo Ludovici Germanici fuit in usu, sed multo post demum coepit. Testantur id liquido illius tempestatis, quae superant et tabulae et libri scripti quamplures. Etenim perfrequenter quidem a scribis et librariis omissa est diphthongi nota, et simplex voculis E illius loco adhibita, quodocunque tamen diphthongi habita in scribendo fuit ratio, solet illa exprimi per diversas litteras ae, nunquam autem per **æ** aut **Æ**."
 2. Ibid., Ch. XVII.

(3) Another evidence of falsity is the use of the Arabic numerals 12 in the edition of the defender of the document, which apparently are found in the document itself. But it is certain, Conring says, that numerals of this kind are not found in any ancient diplomata, and that their use is more recent than the age of Louis.¹ But, Conring adds, don't take my word for it. Listen to what Joseph Scaliger has said in his comments on the coin of Constantine which Marquandus Freherus had sent to him:

NUMMUS ingens argenteus clarissimi viri Marquandi Freheri, quam recens sit, argumento sunt characteres arithmetici 234-235, qui ante trecentos aut paulo plures annos ab Arabibus ad nos transierunt, ac primo quidem dissimiles his nostris hodiernis, postea memoria proavorum hac forma interpolati, quae hodie nobis in usu est. Itaque nummus hic cusus aut conflatus est non illo seculo quo ii a Christianis recepti sunt, sed illo quo interpolati: hoc est memoria proavorum. Praeterea an unquam a Graecis usurpati sint, merito ut dubitem faciunt libri multi Astronomici, Logistici et Computorum ecclesiasticorum pauli ante aut post eversionem imperii Constantinopolitani conscripti, quorum omnium numeri non his peregrinis characteribus concepti sunt, sed literis Graecis. Denique illos characteres primi omnium Christianorum Hispani a Mauris, ab Hispanis reliqui Latini acceperunt. Et quidem concedamus accepisse, ii tamen apud Graecos numquam vulgo noti fuerunt: ut non opus fuerit eos in hoc nummo cudere, ut a paucis tantum intelligerentur. Nobis igitur constat, recentissimam quidem nummi conflaturam esse.

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1. *Ibid.*, Ch. XVII: "Produnt recentem illam diplomatis aetatem SECUNDO etiam binae ZIPHRAE 12 numerum duodenarium significantes. Fassi iam tum sumus, non reperiri illas ziphras in exemplari diplomatis, quod grandi opere inclytæ urbis exhibetur pag. 723, quandoquidem tamen hyperaspistica editio ziphras illas exhibet... nobis non licet dubitare, ziphras illas in ipso diplomate contineri. Sed illos characteres numerales in nullis antiquis diplomatibus reperiri, certo est certius. In ipso diplomate Lindaviensi nostro anni regiminis Ludovici Imperatoris, ut et Christi characteribus Romanis more antiquo signantur."

Thus Arabic numerals are posterior to the age of Louis, and the document in which they are used was written some centuries after Louis.¹

(4) The custom of dating a document by the 'anno Dominico' is more recent than the age of Louis the German, and although such a date is seen in no genuine document of Louis, yet the Lindau document is so marked. As for the argument of the defender of the document to the effect that the date was a later addition because the characters were different from those used in the main part of the document, Conring claims that such a conclusion is not warranted. For, he asks, what is better known than the fact that at one and the same time characters are written differently. The defense has not proven nor can it prove that the date

1. *Ibid.*, Ch. XVII: "Idem fit in omnibus priscis diplomatibus, quae quidem in manus meas hactenus inciderunt. Et vero zifrarum usus aliquot seculis est recentior aevo Ludovici Germanici. Nolo hac in parte tam mihi credi, quam Josepho Scaligero...Cujus haec sunt verba in "commentatione de nummo Constantini Imperatoris", quam Marquandus Freherus suae praemisit editae anno 1604 post Opuscula Scaligeri inseruit Casaubonus.

.....
Caeterum quicquid fit, zifrae aliquot seculis Ludoviciano aevo posteriores sunt, ac proinde et diploma, cui insertae sunt zifrae, aliquot post seculis denique est conscriptum."

of the Lindau document was written in 'recentiore scriptura'¹. Conring seems to hint here at the variations which occur in an individual's handwriting from time to time rather than to the differences which exist between an old script and a 'recentiore scriptura'.

(5) Comparison of the seal from the Lindau document with those from genuine documents of Louis the Pious and Louis the German shows that the seal of the Lindau document, although supposedly that of Louis the German, yet bears the image, monogram and imperial title of Louis the Pious.² One document of Louis the Pious, moreover, copied from the autograph itself, is written, Conring says, in characters so different from those in common use that it cannot be reproduced exactly in print. He can merely give the text,

1. *Ibid.*, Ch. XVII: "Usque haec adeo sane clarent, ut ipsimet hyperaspistae vim argumenti haud ausi sint dissimulare. Eoque pag. 97 effugium cenantur petere a praetextu, quasi annus dominicae incarnationis longe post demum ab aliquo fuerit adscriptus: non enim characteres esse eosdem cum aliis, nec ita concinnos... Si quaelibet diversitas igitur characterum arguit manum aliam recentiorem, dixeris, omnia diversis temporibus esse scripta: quod ineptum fuerit. Quid autem notius et frequentius, quam uno eodemque momento, invitante negotio, alios atque alios characteres efformari? Certe nec hactenus probaverunt hyperaspistae, recentiore scriptura aerae dominicae annos adjectos, nec probare poterunt imposterum. Eoque manet id, quod diximus, etiam aeram illam dominicam falsitatem liquido ostendere."
2. *Ibid.*, Ch. XIX, p. 687: "...sigillum diplomatis coenobialis Lindaviani non referre effigiem Ludovici Germanici, sed patris Pii; non monogramma porro esse illius, sed hujus Pii; et denique non Imperatorem sed Regem sese nuncupasse Ludovicum Germanicum."

retaining only the diphthong AE with separated letters as found in the genuine document in contradistinction to the ligature A¹E so common in the Lindau forgery.

This concludes Conring's methodical and systematic expose of the Lindau document, an analysis which succeeded in stripping that document of any claim to authenticity and relegating it to a much later age. Evident throughout is the fact that Conring was working always only from printed editions of the documents which he was using for comparison with the Lindau document. Only once does he mention a document in facsimile, and there he makes the strange observation about the great difference existing between the script of that facsimile of a ninth century document and the characters in daily use, viz., the Italic-Humanistic script. It seemed strange that Conring should feel the necessity of saying that the ninth century script could not be reproduced exactly in print. It would lead you to believe that Conring was not too familiar with the great changes that had taken place in the script of documents down through the

1. Ibid., p. 688: "Dabimus jam diploma hactenus numquam editum; et quidem non minus atque prius ex ipso autographo fide publica illustris senatus descriptum. Apographum sigillo inclytæ illius reipublicæ roboratum penes me nunc est: exhibens etiam characteres ipsos literarum, quales in Autographo membrana reperiuntur, multum differente a nostris figura. Quapropter nec illos possum nunc typis reddere. Dabo tamen omnia fide bona pro nostri temporis ratione: cumprimis circa usum diphthongi illius AE, cujus forma illi ævo insolens A¹E prodidit falsariam in Lindaviensi diplomate adhibitam manum."

ages, and that his only experience with actual autographa was with those of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries wherein would be found the humanistic script which served as the model for the first printed type. However, Conring was a diplomatist, not a palaeographer; and as a diplomatist, he certainly stands far above his predecessors. He saw the need of comparing the seals, formulae, manner of dating, the use of diphthongs, and expressions of genuine documents with the corresponding points in the forgery, and furthermore he did this in a reserved, gentlemanly manner without recourse to scurrilous remarks about its perpetrator.

CHAPTER II

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, THE CRADLE OF PALAEOGRAPHY.

It is clear from the preceding chapter that critical analysis of documents before Conring was at best very amateurish and subjective. It was the seventeenth century that produced the clear, methodical, comparative criticism to which those who engaged in the Bella Diplomatica exposed the documents which they set out to judge. Nor is it strange that such advances should exist in this age, for a glance at the personalities, interests and trends of the seventeenth century proves that that era witnessed a similar development in almost every field of endeavor.

The preceding century, the age of Montaigne and Bacon, had, it is true, produced its crop of sceptics, but scepticism must not be credited as the force responsible for advances in the seventeenth century. Rather it was a driving incentive to arrive at truth which motivated the scholars of this age. This urge for finding truth embraced criticism not only of legal documents (i.e., the Bella Diplomatica) but also the Old and New Testament. It strove to banish superstition and initiated scientific and objective analysis of physical and natural phenomena. Historical Criticism took on a new light, and statements which before had been unquestioned were now exposed to the searching light of truth. Lives of the saints, which had

multiplied to fantastic extremes, were now, for the first time on so large a scale, by the efforts of two important religious orders, the Jesuits and the Benedictines, examined critically so that the wheat might be separated from the chaff, the genuine from the apocryphal.¹

True, History in this age was still to a large extent "une oeuvre d'art",³ and many of its writers considered style more important than facts based on sound research, yet there is an awakening among them to the defects of such a practice, and thus one of their number, Edmund Bolton, in an essay entitled "A Rule of Judgement for Writing or Reading our History's"⁴ speaks as follows:

Among the greatest wants in our ancient Authors are the wants of Art and Style, which, as they add to the lustre of the Works and Delights of the Reader, yet add they nothing to the Truth. For without Truth, Art and Style come into the Nature of Crimes by Imposture.

.....
Truth is the soveraigne praise of an History, For want whereof Lucian did condemn unto his Hell Ctesias, Herodotus, and others of his Countrymen.

In a second address entitled "The Religious Necessity of Impartiality in Historiographers, and of Abstinence, in General from Consure" he says:

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1. For a survey of the seventeenth century, cf. La Crise de la Conscience Européenne, 1680-1715, Tome I by Paul Hazard, Paris, 1935; The Seventeenth Century by G.Clark, Oxford, 1929; The Seventeenth Century by Jacques Boulenger, translated from the French, New York, 1920.
 2. Cf. Histoire de L'Historiographie Moderne par Ed. Feuter traduit de l'allemand par Emilie Jeanmaire, Paris, 1914.
 3. Hazard, op.cit., p.40.
 4. Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, Vol.I, 1605-1650, ed. by J.E.Spingarn, Oxford, 1908, p.83 sq.

This admirable Justice and integrity of Historians, as necessary as it is, yet is nothing in these Days farther of from Hope. For all late Authors that ever yet I could read among us convey with them to Narrations of things done fifteen or sixteen hundred years past, the Jealousies, Passions, and Affections of their own Time. Our Historians must therefore avoid this dangerous Siren, alluring us to follow our own Prejudices, unless he mean only to serve a Side and not to serve Truth and Honesty...He is simply to set forth, without Prejudices, Depravations, or sinister items, things as they are...An History ought to be nothing else but an Image of Truth, and as it were a Table of Things done, permitting the Judgment of all to the competent Reader, which Judgment we ought not forstall, howsoever in some rare Cases it may be lawful to lead the same...the Judgments of interested Authors are commonly not Judgments so much as Prejudices & Preventions, "*ne quid suae partes detrimenti capiant*". Iniquities practis'd in this Point are not more ordinary than odious, & are some time laid on so impudently thick that with less than half an Eye the Paintings are discernable...Nor have the Translators of History any more privilege than their Authors; whether therefore they corrupt the Original by the familiar Courses of Corruption, as Addition, Mutation, Mutilation, Subtraction, Distraction or otherwise, as they generally do, who in the Phrase of their own Education, Sect, Faction, or Affection utter Antiquities & Truths of another Tenour, it is a like worthy of Blame. Neither are Impostures & Frauds in Sentences only, but in Words also.¹

Variations found in different accounts of the same event induced scholarly historians to evaluate more carefully their raw material, and this critical method developed to such an extent that the seventeenth century is credited with the creation of modern scientific study of history. Of course, in this respect the historian was² aided by 'auxiliary sciences'. Joseph Scaliger's (born

1. *Ibid.*, p.93.

2. Clark, *op.cit.*, pp.270-287.

in 1540) work on Chronology of events in antiquity aroused the interest of scholars to the need for correlating the different systems of reckoning time in the Middle Ages. And most important, the study of handwriting became essential to the historian because he began to realize that the value of a document as an historical source depended on the date of its composition.

Thus while the seventeenth century had its share of Vertot's,¹ yet it also was the age of Leibnitz (1646-1716) who shut himself up in libraries looking for old parchments and copying them since he felt that a code of international relations ought to rely upon authentic acts, declarations of war, treaties of peace and other pieces and not on some mere phrases. Librarian² of the Duke of Brunswick, he undertook to write a history of the ruling family in three large volumes, replete with documents taken from good sources.

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1. Hazard, op.cit., p.43. Vertot had finished writing his narration of the siege of Malta when some one indicated to him some documents pertinent to it, whereupon he replied that it was too late, for the siege was over.
 2. "Leibnitz as a Librarian" by Archibald L. Clarke in The Library, London 1914, Series 3, V. 5, pp.140-154. Leibnitz was one of the pioneers in the study of philology and etymology. His Collectanea Etymologica, edited in 1717, after his death, is a repertory for the derivation of words in the Celtic and Teutonic groups of languages.

It was the age of Henry Meibom who worked on German antiquities, of Thomas Gale² and Thomas Rymer³ who engaged themselves with English documents, and of Nicholas Antonio who hunted sources of Spanish literary history.

Nor was science neglected by the minds of the seventeenth century. Comets, for instance, had been believed to be without natural causes and were considered as portents of great calamities in human history. But Halley's calculation of the orbit of the comet of 1682 put an end to this. Further evidence of the search for truth and the abandonment of unsubstantiated fact was the victory of science over witchcraft. For toward the end of the seventeenth century cases of witchcraft declined so that one of the last executions in France was in 1718, in

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1. Heinrich Meibom, (1638-1700) -- Rerum Germanicarum Tomi III, Helmstadt, 1688.
 2. Thomas Gale, (1635?-1702) -- Rerum Anglicanarum Scriptores Veteres, Oxford, 1684-1691. Three volumes.
 3. Thomas Rymer, (1641-1713) -- Foedera, Conventiones, literae cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates, ab ineunte saeculo duodecimo, ad nostra usque tempora habita aut tractata. Accurante Thoma Rymer, twenty volumes, London, 1704-1735.

Scotland in 1722, while in 1736 English laws against sorcery were repealed.¹

The seventeenth century also witnessed the formation of the Royal Society of London (1660) whose²

...purpose is, in short, to make faithful Records, of all the Works of Nature, or Art, which can come within their reach; so that the present Age, and Posterity, may be able to put a mark on the Errors, which have been strengthened by long prescription; to restore the Truths, that have lain neglected: to push on those, which are already known, to more various uses: and to make the way more passable, to what remains unreveal'd. This is the compass of their Design. And to accomplish this, they have endeavor'd, to separate the knowledge of Nature, from the colours of Rhetorick, the devices of Fancy, or the delightful deceit of Fables...They have attempted...to render it an instrument, whereby Mankind may obtain a Dominion over Things, and not onely over one anothers Judgements. And lastly, they have begun to establish these Reformations in Philosophy, not so much, by any solemnity of Laws, or ostentation of Ceremonies; as by solid Practice, & Examples: not by a glorious Pomp of Words; but by the silent, effectual, & unanswerable Arguments of real Productions.

To realize this purpose they would admit to membership men of different religions, nationalities and vocations in life,

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1. Cf. The Witch Cult in Western Europe by Margaret Murray, 1921, pp.10-11.
 2. The History of the Royal Society of London. For the Improving of Natural Knowledge by Thomas Sprat, London, 1667, p.61.

"For they openly profess, not to lay the Foundation of an English, Scotch, Irish, Popish, or Protestant Philosophy; but a Philosophy of Mankind". Even the unskilled and un-¹educated would be invited,

...such, who, though they bring not much knowledge, yet bring their hands, & their eyes uncorrupted: such as have not their Brains infected by false Images; and can honestly assist in the examining & registering what the others represent to their View...For so there will be always many sincere witnesses standing by, whom self-love will not persuade to report falsely, nor heat of Invention carry to swallow a Deceit too soon; as having themselves no hand in the making of the Experiment, but onely in the Inspection. So cautious ought Men to be, in pronouncing even upon Matters of Fact. The whole Care is not to be trusted to single Men: not to a Company all of one Mind; not to Philosophers, not to devout, and religious men alone: By all these we have been already deluded; even by those whom I last named, who ought most of all to abhor Falshood; of whom yet many have multiply'd upon us, infinite Stories, and false Miracles, without any regard to Conscience, or Truth.

The Matter of their experiments was "A general prospect of all the objects of mens thoughts: which can be nothing else, but either God, or Men, or Nature"². As far as Meth-³od was concerned, they would bear in mind only two things:

The one is, not to prescribe to themselves, any certain Art of Experimenting, within which to circumscribe their Thoughts: But rather to keep themselves free, and change their course, according to the different Circumstances, that occur to them in

1. Ibid., p.72.

2. Ibid., p.81.

3. Ibid., p.89.

their Operations...Their other Care has been, to regard the least, & the plainest things, & those that may appear at first the most inconsiderable; as well as the greatest Curiosities.

When a new subject for discussion would be proposed, each member would tell at the meeting whatever he knew of that subject;

'For they cannot but go blindly, & lamely, & confusedly about the business, unless they have first laid before them a full Account of it'.
...That man, who is thoroughly acquainted with all sorts of Opinions, is very much more unlikely to adhere obstinately to any one particular, than he whose Head is onely fill'd with thoughts, that are all of one Colour.

.....

And after they have perform'd the Trial, they bring all the History of its process back again to the Test. Then comes in the second great Work of the Assembly; which is to judg, & resolve upon the matter of Fact. In this part of their Employment, they us'd to take an exact View of the Repetition of the whole course of the Experiment; here they observ'd all the chances, & the Regularities of the Proceeding; what Nature does willingly, what constrain'd...industriously marking all the various shapes into which it turns itself, when it is persued, & by how many secret passages it at last obtains its End; never giving it over till the whole Company has been fully satisfi'd of a certainty and constancy; or, on the other side, of the absolute impossibility of the Effect...To the Royal Society it will be at any time almost as acceptable, to be confuted, as to discover: seeing, by this means, they will accomplish their main Design: others will be inflam'd: many more will labour; and so the Truth will be obtained between them.

Finally, members of the Royal Society were careful to avoid dogmatizing on the one hand and scepticism on the other, for

1. Ibid., p.97 sqq.

Nothing sound is to be expected from those, who will fix blindly on whatever they can lay hold on: or nothing great from them, who will always wander; who will never leave disputing, whether they dream or wake; ...the one can produce nothing, but unwholesome, & rotten fruits: and the other, for fear of that, will endeavour to have no Harvest, nor Autumn at all.

To this fault of Sceptical doubting, the Royal Society may perhaps be suspected, to be a little too much inclin'd: because they always professed to be so backward upon setting of Principles, or fixing upon Doctrines. It is their study, that the way to attain a solid speculation, should...be more & more persued...by a long forbearing of speculation at first, till the matters be ripe for it; and not, by madly rushing upon it in the very beginning...They are therefore so farr from being Scepticks, as the greatest Dogmatists themselves. The Scepticks deny all, both Doctrines & Works. The Dogmatists determine on Doctrines, without a sufficient respect to Works.¹

The Seventeenth Century was an age which witnessed a revolt in some quarters against traditional beliefs. It was the age of the Libertines who always doubted and refused to believe in revelation or miracles, but it also nurtures the Cartesians, the followers of René Descartes, whose Discours sur La Méthode and Meditationes gave a systematic view of science and sought to unlock the secrets of nature by keys like that of Mathematics; the Cartesians, the buffer to the Libertines, who sought to arrive at truth by first doubting everything. It also saw Malebranche and his adherents who sought rational evidence with mystic fervor.

1. Ibid., p.106.

2. Nicolas Malebranche (1638-1715) De la Recherche de la Vérité, 4 volumes, Paris, 1678.

This was the age of Peter Bayle, whose Dictionnaire Historique et Critique was compiled in 1695-1697 to point out errors made by former writers, for as he says himself² in a letter of May 22, 1692 to his cousin Gabriel Naudé,³

Environ le mois de Decembre 1690, je formai le dessein de composer un dictionnaire critique, qui contiendrait un recueil des fautes qui ont ete faites, tant par ceux qui ont fait des dictionnaires que par d'autres ecrivains, et qui reduirait sous chaque nom d'homme ou de ville les fautes concernant cet homme ou cette ville.

This was the age of Spinoza, the anti-Christian, who, following the method of Descartes, said that it was necessary to make a 'tabula rasa' of traditional beliefs before you would begin to think of new ideas. A disbeliever in the divine origin of Holy Scripture, he thought that it was a human work, full of errors and contradictions.⁴

1. Second edition appeared in 1702.

2. Hazard, op.cit., p.132.

3. Naudé, a friend of Conring, was the author of several works, among which was one entitled Raisons Peremptoires, part of which was translated into Latin by Conring and included in Vol.II of the Hermanni Conringii Opera. In this Naudé, who had a particular aversion to the Benedictines, lists twenty attempts made by the members of that order at forging documents. He had also been engaged in the dispute about the authorship of the Imitation of Christ, which started in 1640 when Cardinal Richelieu decided to open the new royal printing press at the Louvre with the publication of a sumptuous edition of that work. Père Grégoire Tardieu, general of the Benedictines of St. Maur, asked that the edition be published under the name of Jean Gersen of the Benedictines. When a jury of learned men selected by Richelieu to judge the matter disagreed, he sent a letter to Rome instructing Naudé together with F.Martinella, a librarian at the Vatican, to examine the mss. upon which the Benedictines based their claim. Naudé proclaimed in favor of Thomas A' Kempis. Cf. also "Gabriel Naudé" by James V. Rice in Johns Hopkins' Studies in Romance Lit. and Lang., Vol. XXXV, 1939.

4. Hazard, op.cit., p. 191.

Thus even the Bible did not escape the critical and inquisitive tendency of the age, for the seventeenth century also witnessed in 1678 the publication of Richard Simon's Histoire Critique Du Vieux Testament. Entering the Oratory in 1662, he was ordained a priest in 1670. A student of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, he maintained that one cannot read the Bible with profit if he is not properly instructed in that which is pertinent to the criticism of the text. He thus found it necessary to use for his work not only the Greek and Latin Versions but also the Hebrew original, for, as he thought, all the current editions were too colored with the prejudices of those who put them forth. Thus he writes:

...J'ai trouvé qu'on n'avoit point encore assey approfondi jusqu'à present ce qui regarde la Critique de l'Ecriture. Chacun en a parlé le plus souvent selon ses préjugés. Les Juifs...qui n'ont consulté que leur Auteurs, n'en ont eu qu'une connoissance fort limitée; et ils se sont contentés d'admirer ce qu'ils n'entendoient point. A l'égard des Chrétiens, la plus-part des Peres ont été tellement préoccupés en faveur des anciennes Versions de l'Eglise, qu'ils ont négligé entierement le Texte Hebreu.

.....
C'est ce que j'ai tâché de faire dans cet Ouvrage, en conservant, autant qu'il m'a été possible, l'autorité de L'Original Hebreu et des Versions. Je ne me suis point entêté ni du Grec, ni du Latin, ni de l'Hebreu, ni d'aucune autre Langue; mais j'ai examiné avec soin, et selon les regles ordinaires de la Critique, le Texte Hebreu et toutes les Traductions, et apres avoir marqué les diverses Leçons, j'ai montré de quelle maniere on pouvoit corriger les fautes qui sont dans les Exemplaires d'aujourd'hui.

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1. Histoire Critique Du Vieux Testament par Le R.P.Richard Simon, 1685, Rotterdam, Vol.I, Preface.

In England the increased critical tendency in manifested by the publication in 1655 of the Monasticon Anglicanum¹ of Sir William Dugdale with an excellent "Propylaeum" of John Marsham, in which he condemns the license of recent monks who wrote their own history and fabricated their own documents and thus warns the reader to guard carefully against documents of this kind which have to do with English monasteries, "quae fidem habent eo minorem, quo majorem prae se ferunt antiquitatem". For, as he says, our uneducated and inert race was wont to confer donations "absque scripto", and further it is not evident from Bede that script was used for the transfer of gifts or the granting of privileges.²

This critical tendency of the seventeenth century manifested itself also in a general study of handwriting. Thus in 1616 appeared the De Prima Scribendi Origine et

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1. Monasticon Anglicanum. Originally published in Latin by Sir William Dugdale, 1655. (New Edition by John Calvey, et.al., London, 1817.)
 2. Ibid., "Propylaeum Johannis Marshami": "Sed nec satis convenit inter viros doctos de tempore, quo Benedicti regula in nostram patriam illata sit. Dissensioni facem praetulit recentiorum licentia monachorum, qui nimium faciles fuerunt in iis tradendis, quae ad ecclesiarum suarum gloriam conferre putarunt; et in contexendis historiis referendisque coenobiorum monumentis audacem nimis navarunt operam: infoelici plerumque conatu, vel ex inepta vetustatis affectione, vel ex cogitantia (sic), vel ex praetenui antiquiorum temporum peritia. Neque nova est haec fraudis suspicio...Caute itaque intuendae sunt istiusmodi cartae; quae fidem habent eo minorem, quo majorem prae se ferunt antiquitatem. Rudis olim et iners gens nostra absque scripto donationes conferre solebat. Ex Beda sane non constat, scripturam adhuc illius aetate in transferendis praediis, aut concedendis privilegiis usurpatam fuisse."

1

Universa Rei Literariae Antiquitate of the Jesuit Father, Herman Hugo, which discussed among other things the materials and instruments used for writing (Chapters IX, X, XI) and the names of those who were engaged to do the writing (Chapter XXXII, Actuarii, Logographi, Formularii, Pararii, Chartularii, Referendarii, Scriptores, and the Notarii who, he said:

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...numquam, nisi minuto caractere scribebant, ut observat Janus Mellerus Palmerius in Spicilegiis: 'Veteres omnes', inquit 'majusculis literis totos perscribebant libros; minusculas Notariis relinquebant, quarum usum Papyrianus non nisi occupatis et negotiosis indulgebat'. Majusculae autem erant, quas cum Petronio (Satyr. c.39) vocamus quadratas, vel unciales, ut divus Hieronymus in Praefat. ad Job; vel Apices, ut Sidonius.

And in 1666 in Paris was printed the Traite Des Incriptions en Faux et Reconnoissances d'escritures et Signatures par comparaison et autrement of Jacques Raveneau, the 'Maistre Ecrivain' at Paris, who was employed at court to verify scripts and signatures. In this work Raveneau distinguishes between the different kinds of forgery, i.e., false money, false seals, etc., but states that he will concern himself mainly with false pieces of writing, all of which he reduces to the following types:

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1. De Prima Scribendi Origine et Universa Rei Literariae Antiquitate, Hermannus Hugo, S.J., 1616, cui notas, opusculum de scribis...adjecit C.K.Trotz. Trajecti ad Rhenum 1738.
 2. Ibid., p.544.
 3. Traite Des Incriptions en Faux et Reconnoissances d'Escritures et Signatures par comparaison et autrement. Par Jacques Raveneau...A Paris, 1666, p.3 sq.

- (1) L'imitation d'une ou plusieurs lignes d'écritures, qu'on dit autrement un Corps d'écritures. L'imitation d'une ou plusieurs signatures.
- (2) Les Contretiremens qui se peuvent faire en diverses manieres pour parvenir à ces imitations.
- (3) L'alteration d'une piece ou partie d'icelle, soit par ratures ou enlevemens de quelques chiffres, lettres, mots, lignes, pages entieres.
- (4) Inversion de feuilles de papier ou parchemin.
- (5) Addition et collement de plusieurs morceaux de papier.
- (6) Soustraction et changement de feuillets, d'un ou plusieurs cahiers ou registres.
- (7) Desguisement d'écriture.
- (8) Supposition de pieces nouvellement faites, afin de les faire passer pour anciennes.
- (9) Falsification d'écritures.
- (10) Blancs-signeux, et plusieurs autres qui se peuvent rencontrer.

A forgery can be detected, Raveneau says, by comparing it with authentic pieces; but such comparison would be unnecessary if it were a question of an erasure or the removal of some words. Furthermore, decision concerning a forgery must be made by an expert, one who knows through the rules of his art together with his own particular industry if a writing, a signature, or a paragraph were written by the same hand which wrote the piece which is being used to serve for comparison.¹ For to determine if

1. Ibid., p.41: "Il est a presupposer que le sujet de l'action que fait un Expert en une verification, est pour reconnoistre par les regles de son Art, jointes à son industrie particuliere, si une écriture, une signature, un paragraphe, ou autres choses semblables dependans de l'écriture, contentieuses entre des parties, sont écrites par la mesme main, et par la mesme personne que celle qui a écrit les pieces qui luy sont données pour servir de comparaison à ces choses contentieuses."

a writing is as old as it purports to be, the expert must adhere to the following rules:

- (1) See if the script is ancient and if it was in use at the time in which the document was written.
- (2) For if it appears so, examine it carefully to see if he who has written it is accustomed to such writing. If not, he will at times reveal himself and let slip out some letters or ligatures then in use in the midst of script supposed to be ancient. Moreover, the script will not display the liberty and freedom which would be evident if the scribe were writing naturally.
- (4) Consider the color and luster of the ink; if it is black and bright, the document is a recent fabrication.¹

Thus, while most of Raveneau's work concerns itself

1. *Ibid.*, p.126: "Le moyen de reconnoistre ces suppositions, c'est de considerer premierement la marque du papier, si au temps du datte porté par cette piece, cette marque estoit inventée et en usage...Secondement, si le caractere de l'écriture d'une telle piece est de forme ancienne, et si elle estoit en usage au temps de son date. Tiercement, si elle paroist telle, l'examiner curieusement, afin de reconnoistre si celui qui l'a écrite est accoustumé a telle écriture; sinon il se pouroit tromper, et laisser échaper sa main à faire quelques lettres ou liaisons d'icelles, de la forme du caractere à present en usage, qu'il mêlere insensiblement parmi cette écriture pretendue ancienne; et parceque telle écriture simulée ne s'entreprennd en ce recontre que par des gens qui scavant bien écrire; la fermeté et le ble arengement, si il y est requis, se pouroient rencontrer en telle écriture; mais non pas la hardiesse, à cause de la contrainte que le Fabricateur aura à la faire, comme n'estant pas son écriture naturelle, a laquelle il est habitué...A la couleur et lustre de l'encre, si elle paroist vieille et dechargée, ou recente, pour sa noirceur et lustre vif..."

with the identification of forgeries perpetrated by men who aimed to imitate the writing and signatures of contemporaries, yet the instructions contained above could be used to good advantage by those critical scholars of the seventeenth century who were awakening now to the great need of documentary proof for their statements of fact.

Another work on script appeared in 1670 and was entitled De Scriptura seu Scriptione Disputatio. Its author, Peter Holmes, divided his work into the following chapters:

Ch.I: De Notatione, Ambiguitate, ac Synonymia Vocis.

Ch.II: De Scriptionis Natura ac Constitutione in Genere.

Ch.III: De Causa efficiente scriptionis.

Ch.IV: De Materia Scriptionis (Saxa, Metalla, etc.)

Ch.V: De Forma Scriptionis. In this chapter he treats writing "a summo dextro, ad laevum...qui est vetus Hebraeorum", writing "a laevo summo ad dextrum in latum, qui jam est fere omnium praeterquam Hebraeorum et Sinensium" and writing "ex utroque mixtus, sed a laevo incipiendo". In all he lists twenty-four such methods of writing and gives diagrams of each.

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Ch.VI: De Fine Scripturae.

More of that same author's critical attitude may be

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1. Analecta Philologica-Critico-Historica continentia inter alia Petri Holmii "de primævo ac authentico Characterē Litterarum Veteris Testam. Disputationem" et "de Scriptura et Scriptione Disputationem." Thomas Crenius conlegit, recensuit. Amstelodami, 1699, pp.387-484.

seen in a work of his written in 1669 which bears the title Disputatio Philologica De Primaevio ac Authentico Characterere Literarum Veteris Testamenti, in which he discusses the dispute then current

An figura illa literarum, quibus sacri codices ubique jam describuntur aut imprimuntur, quamque quadratam vulgo vocant, sit genuina ac primigenia illarum, quas Deus in monte Sinai tabulis lapideis inscripsit, quamque Moses ac Prophetæ in describendo primitus V. Test. usurparunt?¹

Amidst all this investigation and struggle for truth and certitude, it is evident that the lives of the saints would not escape the searching light of the critic.² For the "Vitæ Sanctorum", both genuine and apocryphal, had multiplied to such an extent that the time had come to "sincera secernere ab (sic) spuris". Most active in this work, although working independently of one another, were two groups of scholars representing the Benedictine and the

1. Ibid., p.360.

2. Cf. Les Hommes Illustres Qui Ont Paru en France Pendant Ce siècle, par Mr. Charles Perrault, de l'Académie Française. Tome II, Paris, 1700, pp.9-10: "Il y a en siècles où l'ignorance estoit si grande parmi le peuple, et même parmi la plupart de ceux qui passoient alors pour sçavans, qu'on ne faisoit aucun scrupule de forger des histoires entièrement fausses, pourvu que ce fût dans l'intention d'exciter ou d'augmenter la piété des fideles. Dans ce meme tems on se faisoit par tout un si grand honneur d'avoir pour Patron de sa Province ou de son Eglise, un Saint du temps des Apôtres, ou du moins des premiers Disciples, qu'il n'y a point de fables qu'on n'inventât pour s'en donner un de cette qualité. De ces deux sources est venu ce mélange affreux de verité et de mensonge qui se trouve dans la lie d'un grand nombre de Saints: Abus qu'on ne scauroit trop deplorer par l'occasion qu'il donne aux Libertins de douter des choses les plus certains, et les plus vrais, et aux Heretiques de nous insulter sur la foy de nos Traditions."

Jesuit Orders. Those of the latter group who devoted themselves to this task have been called the Bollandists and will be discussed fully in the next chapter, while the work of the Benedictines, members of the Congregation of S.Maur, will be treated in the section which follows this one on Mabillon, one of their most illustrious representatives. Suffice it to say here that the Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti was begun by Gregory Tarris¹ and continued by others, most important of whom was Dom Luc d'Achery, who

non tantum San Germanensis bibliothecas sibi jamdudum commissae forulos resolvit...sed etiam vetusta Legendaria sedulus excussit, exscribique curavit;...litteras direxit ad exter²as provincias, ut quotquot posset Sanctorum nostrorum Vitas compararet.²

When his health began to fail, the work was taken over by Dom Jean Mabillon. That this monumental task was motivated not by doubt or scepticism but by a desire to arrive at truth is evidenced by the following words of Mabillon:³

Non minor hac in Collectione fuit Veritatis quam Antiquitatis cura. Cum enim in Sanctorum Actis, si uspiam alibi, misere laboraverit hominum imperitorum licentia; maxime interest sincera secernere ab spuris, certa ab incertis, ut rebus pie ac sancte gestis sua constet auctoritas.

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1. Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti Collegit Domnus Lucas d'Achery...et cum eo edidit D. Joannes Mabillon. Vol. I, 1733, Venice. "Fratris Joannis Mabillon Praefatio ad Universos S.P. Benedicti Alumnos", pp.v-xlvi.
 2. Ibid., p.vi.
 3. Ibid., p.v.



And further on, when speaking of the manner in which he and his co-workers used their source materials, Mabillon says:

Ad haec, Sanctorum Acta, si edita erant, cum scriptis codicibus contulimus: si nondum edita, ex vetustis eruimus membranis. Ubi plures ac diversae de eodem occurrerunt lucubrationes, eam quae melioris notae visa est, in censum nostrum adduximus: si quid in aliis singulare legebatur, in margine inferiori curavimus adnotari. Dum vero duos aut plures qui de uno eodemque sancto Monacho scripserint illustres nacti sumus Auctores, eorum singulas scriptiones edimus, ut minimum desit ad historiae auctoritatem. Hinc stilum primigenium...intactum servavimus, ne Scriptoribus fidem mutatis verbis detraheremus.

Working also for the same purpose, but independently of the other two groups and on a much smaller scale because he worked alone, was the so called "Denicheur des Saints", John Launoy. Born in Valderic near Coutances in 1603, he began his formal studies at the latter city and

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1. Ibid., p.vii.
 2. I have not been able to locate the exact origin of this name which was, as shall be seen later, assigned rather unjustly to Launoy.
 3. For information on the life of Launoy cf. Memoires Pour Servir A l'Histoire Des Hommes Illustres Dans la Republique des Lettres par le R.P.Nicéron, Tome XXXII, Paris, 1735, pp.84-139; Dictionnaire Historique et Critique de Pierre Bayle, Nouvelle Edition, Tome Neuvième, Paris, 1820, pp.94-111; Charles Perrault, op.cit., Tome II, pp.9-10; Nouvelle Biographie Generale Depuis Les Temps Plus Reculés Jusqu'a Nos Jours. Tome Vingt-Neuvième, Paris, 1859, c.912-915; Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne, XXIII (Michaud) Nouvelle Edition, Paris, pp. 353-357; Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique, Fascicule LXX-LXXI, Paris, 1926, c.2-6; Lettres Choiesies de Feu Mr. Guy Patin, Tome Premier, 1707, Lettre XLIX, pp.139-141; Jugemens des Savans Sur les Principaux Ouvrages des Auteurs par Adrien Baillet, Tome II, Paris, 1722, p.96, 164; The Journal Des Scavans de l'an MDCLXV, par le Sieur De Hedouville, Amsterdam, 1685, pp.138-140.

finished them in Paris in 1634 when he received a doctorate in theology and was ordained to the priesthood. That same year he travelled to Rome where he made the acquaintance of some of the leading scholars of the day among whom were Luke Holstenius¹ and Leo Allatius², the Vatican librarians. A diligent student, he returned to France in 1635 and devoted himself to the reading of both manuscripts and printed editions of the Fathers and Theologians of the Church, taking care to transcribe any passage for which he foresaw a future need. To increase his store of information, he wrote letters to many points throughout Europe gathering mss. and consulting scholars, particularly Sirmond,³ his oracle and friend.

In 1648 he had been excluded from the college of Navarre for having declared, some one said, that the recitation of the breviary was not a matter of obligation but merely one of devotion.⁴ In that same year Abbé Caesar d'Estrées, who in 1653 became Bishop of Laon, admitted him to the college of Laon where he lavished upon him the tokens of esteem and friendship that he voluntarily bestowed on scholars. However, Launoy was content with a little, and twice when his friend tried to prevail upon him to accept a canonry of the Cathedral, he refused on the

1. Cf. Infra, p.121. sq. & p.343, 347.

2. Cf. Infra, p.123, sq.

3. Cf. Infra, p.342, sq.

4. Nicéron, op.cit., p.86.

pretext that he did not know how to chant, one of the duties of a Canon. He refused also other benefices, having no ambition of that sort and satisfied only with the essentials of life.¹

He produced a great number of works on Theology, Criticism and History, which fill ten large folio volumes.² His letters are veritable dissertations on matters of discipline or faith. The weekly conferences which he held in his home at which, Bayle says,³ a great many traditions about the saints were denied, were suppressed by order of the king in 1676. Two years later he died in the home of his benefactor, Cardinal d'Estrées after an active life in which he had been heaped with both plaudits and censure.

From 1641 Launoy had inaugurated a series of "critiques" which gained for him the reputation of "dénicheur de saints et de destructeur des privileges monastiques".⁴ Such a legend grew, and Protestants, such as Reiser,⁵ used some of his writings to combat certain practices of the

1. Ibid., and Perrault, op.cit., p.9.
2. Joannis Launoyi Constantiensis, Parisiensis Theologi, Socii Navarrae, Opera Omnia... Coloniae Allobrogum, 1731.
3. Bayle, op.cit., p.103.
4. D.T.C., cl3.
5. Joannes Launoyus Theologus et Sorbonista Parisiensis, testis et confessor veritatis evangelico-catholicae in potioribus capitibus controversiis etc., Amsterdam, 1685, in 40.

Church. But when it is recalled that this same Reiser also wrote a book trying to prove that St. Augustine was opposed to the Roman Catholic Church and another to show that St. Thomas Aquinas was opposed to several dogmas of the same Church, it was inevitable that he should seize upon the critical works of Launoy and try to make capital of them.¹

Pierre Bayle gives several references to the charges hurled against Launoy as a "denicheur des Saints". In one such the following may be found:²

M. de Launoi, docteur en theologie de la faculté de Paris, a prétendu que plusieurs de nos saints n'avaient point existé: ce que a fait dire de lui à M. Feramus:

Tu quoque, Launoi, veri indagator et index,
Addita qui fastis Numina falsa doces.

the last verse of which, reminiscent of Homer, draws the parallel between Jupiter who with a swing of the foot ejected Vulcan from Olympus and Launoy who was presently dislodging some of the saints from heaven with a stroke of the pen.

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1. Biographie Universelle (Michaud) p.357 quotes Bayle, Nouvelles de la république des lettres: "Reiserus est un auteur infatigable et a qui un gros livre ne coûte rien. Il y a environ huit ans qu'il en fit un, pour montrer que St. Augustin est contraire à l'Eglise romaine. Il en a fait un autre pour montrer que Thomas d'Aquin est contraire à plusieurs dogmes de la même Eglise; et presentement il croit joindre M.de Launoy à ces deux autres témoins de la véritable doctrine."
 2. Bayle, op.cit., p.100, quoting Menage, Anti-Baillet, Tome II, p.216.

Then there was the following report about the meeting¹
between M. Godefroy and Launoy:

M. Godefroy l'historiographe étant sorti de son logis de grand matin, le premier jour de l'an, rencontra dans la rue de la Harpe M. de Launoi qui s'en allait en Sorbonne. Il l'aborda et lui dit en l'embrassant: bon jour et bon an, monsieur, quel saint denicherez vous du ciel cette année? M. de Launoi, surpris de la demande, lui répondit: Je ne deniche point du ciel les véritables saints que Dieu et leur mérite y ont placés; mais bien ceux que l'ignorance et la superstition des peuples y ont fait glisser sans qu'ils le méritassent, et sans l'aveu de Dieu et des savans.

The following story was also widely circulated:

M. de Launoi, était un terrible critique, redoutable au ciel, et à la terre. Il a plus détrôné de saints du paradis, que dix papes n'en ont canonisés. Tout lui faisait ombrage dans les Martyrologes; et il recherchait tous les saints les uns apres les autres, comme en France on recherche la noblesse. Le curé de Saint-Eustache de Paris disait: 'Quand je rencontre le docteur de Launoi, je le salue jusqu'à terre, et ne lui parle que le chapeau a la main, et avec bien de l'humilité, tant j'ai peur qu'il ne tient à rien.'

This passage, Bayle says, he has taken from Vigneul-Marville, Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature, edition of Rouen, 1699, but he adds the note that the 1713 edition² of Paris has retracted the statement.

But not all the critical remarks about Launoy were adverse. The famous Abbe Marullus thought a great deal of him, as is evident in this remark that he makes concerning

1. Bayle, op.cit., p.100, quoting Suite du Menagiana, pp. 293-4, édition de Hollande.
2. Bayle, op.cit., p.102.
3. Ibid., p.108, quoting M. de Marolles, Memoires, 1656, p.159.

Cardinal d'Estrees, Launoy's benefactor and friend:

L'estime qu'il fait de M. De Launoy, docteur en Theologie, l'en des premiers hommes du siècle en science et en probité, est un marque de son jugement. Et certes ayant un tel personnage auprès de lui, il ne le peut conserver avec trop de soin; c'est trésor qui ne se peut assez chérir.

Adrien Baillet praises Launoy for the immortal services he has rendered to the prelates of the Church as well as to the world of letters.¹ Perrault, after discoursing on the source and number of false lives of the saints remarks that one is not able to give too much thanks to the scholars who have applied themselves to disentangling in their histories the true from the false. Among those who have dedicated themselves to this work and who have rendered so considerable a service to the Church, one will find no one, he continues, who labored with more zeal and more success than Jean de Launoy.²

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1. Jugemens des Savans Sur les Principaux Ouvrages des Auteurs par Adrien Baillet, p.165: "...il (Launoy) a rendu des services immortels aux Prelats de l'Eglise de Jesus-Christ aussi bien qu'aux gens de Lettres.
 2. Perrault, op.cit., p.9: "...On ne peut donner trop de louanges aux scavans hommes qui si sont appliquez à démêler dans ces histoires le faux d'avec le vrai, et à retrancher des pieuses creances celles dont les fondemens ne peuvent subsister avec une exacte connoissance de l'Histoire Ecclesiastique. Entre ceux qui se sont devouez a ce travail, et qui ont rendu à l'Eglise un service si considerable; on n'en trouvera point qui s'y soit porté avec plus de zele et avec plus de succès, que celui dont je vais parler, Jean de Launoy."

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Niceron gives what appears to be a very objective analysis of Launoy and his work in the following passage wherein he speaks about Launoy's great erudition, assiduity and facility in writing, as are evidenced, he says, by the great extent of his works and his practice of citing passage after passage in an effort to prove a point. In fact, this latter habit proved so wearisome that he exhausted not only his opponents but also his readers. But most important of all his qualities, Niceron states, was his desire for truth and his intolerance of fables and forgeries.

Le grande nombre d'Ouvrages qu'il a faits, et la maniere dont ils sont composés, sont assez connoître combien il avoit de lecture et d'erudition, et avec quelle assiduité et quelle facilité il travailloit. ...Il accable non seulement ses adversaires, mais encore ses Lecteurs par le grand nombre et par la longueur des passages, qu'il rapporte tous entiers, et qu'il repete continuellement dans ses Ouvrages.

.....
Il avoit sur tout en recommandation la verité; il ne pouvoit souffrir les fables et les suppositions. Il a defendu avec fermité les droits de l'Eglise et du Roi, et attaqué avec liberté les maximes contraires des Theologiens Ultramontains. Enfin l'on ne peut douter que la Republique des Lettres, l'Eglise de France, et l'Ecole de Paris ne lui soient bien redevables des decouvertes qu'il a faites sur des points d'Histoire et de Critique; de la force avec laquelle il a soutenu l'autorité des Conciles, les droits des Rois et des Eveques; de sa sagacité à decouvrir la fausseté de quelques histoires des Saints, et la supposition de quantité de Privileges.

Not to be omitted, and indeed for us one of the most important remarks about Launoy as a "Denicheur des saints", is that to be found in a letter sent in August 17, 1662

1. Niceron, op.cit., p.88.

to John Bollandus by his co-worker Henschen who with his companion, Papebroch, had stopped off in Paris on his way home from a visit to the libraries of Rome and Italy. For in this letter Henschen says: "Ad portam collegii reperimus D.Launoium et salutavimus, quem risu Destructorem Sanctorum appellabant."¹ This letter, still in ms. form, is referred to by Delehaye, who remarks that at the gate of the College of Cleremont Henschen and Papebroch had met Launoy, the Doctor of the Sorbonne, "critique célèbre qui valait mieux que sa réputation".²

Last, but likely to be considered by some as prejudicial to Launoy's favor because of the source, are the remarks to be found in the preface to the works of Launoy as written by Abbé Granet in 1731.³ Here may be noted once more reference to the fact that the name "Sanctorum Eversorem" was applied to Launoy in jest rather than in seriousness.

Sanctorum eversorem, jocosae potius quam vere appellatum crediderimus. Num Magdalenam Lazarumque e Provincia, Dionysium Atheniensem Parisiis, exulare iussos, continuo e Sanctorum albo expunxit? Num Sanctorum quorundam vitas, censoria virgula notans Launoium, Sanctos ipsos e Caelo deturbare dicatur? Quis sanae memoriae audeat id propugnare? Si ita se res haberet, Sanctorum eversores dicendi Baronius, Papebrochius, Mabillonius, alique bene multi qui exactius id genus criticem attentarunt?

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1. Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, ms.17671-72, fol.105, quoted thus in part by Jean Baptiste Pitra, O.S.B., Etudes Sur Les Bollandistes, Paris, 1850, p.47.
 2. L'Oeuvre Des Bollandistes, par Hippolyte Delehaye, S.J., Brussels, 1920, p.75.
 3. Joannis Launoi...Opera Omnia, Tomus Primus, Pars Prima, "Prodromus Joannis Launoi Operum", pp.x-xxii.

Thus far the high points in the life of Launoy and the appraisal of him by contemporary and later writers. It is necessary now to examine in particular those treatises of his which have a bearing on the lives of the saints. Thus to be excluded from our consideration will be all those multitudinous treatises and books of his on the Sacraments and on other matters in the fields of dogma and theology.

Important among the hagiographical critiques of Launoy¹ is his series of essays on the two St. Denis'. In 1629 James Sirmond, the Jesuit Father, edited the ancient Concilia Galliae in three volumes, in which he stated the necessity of distinguishing between two Denis', Denis of Paris and Denis the Areopagite. Sirmond, tracing the origin of the theory which would identify the two, said that in the ninth century Hilduin, at the request of Louis the Pious, wrote the life of Denis the Areopagite, wherein was expressed for the first time that theory that he was the same person as Denis of Paris. As proof of his statement Sirmond said that all the predecessors of Hilduin distinguished the two, and thus separate feast days were assigned to both in the Churches of Gaul. Even Usuard's martyrology, written a few years before Hilduin Areopagitica,

1. Ibid., Tomus Secundus, Pars Prima, p.374 sqq., "Joannis Launoi...Varia De Duobus Dionysiis Atheniensi et Parisiensi...Opuscula". Launoy's preface explains to the reader the status of the question.

observed the distinction, and John the Scot, in a letter to Charles the Bald which he prefixed to his Latin version of the Greek works of Denis, alluded to this new opinion about one Denis, saying that this was an assertion not of men of former years but of contemporaries.¹

In 1638 Milletus, a monk of the monastery of S.Denis, attacked Sirmond's argument, whereupon Sirmond countered with a work entitled Dissertatio in Qua Dionysii Parisiensis et Dionysii Areopagiticae discrimen ostenditur,² in which he strengthens his original points by quotations from Sulpicius Severus and Gregory of Tours. Milletus, not to be defeated so easily, wrote a response which Sirmond did not answer. Launoy, however, Sirmond's friend, lest Milletus "de Sirmondi silentio...sibi gratularetur"³ took it upon himself to prepare an answer.⁴ He first read and reread,

1. Cf. M.P.L., 122, "Joannis Scoti Versio Operum S.Dionysii Areopagitae -- Praefatio", c.1031-1036. c.1032: "Fertur namque praefatus Dionysius fuisse discipulus atque adjutor Pauli apostoli a quo Atheniensium constitutus est episcopus, cujus Lucas commemorat in Actibus Apostolorum.....Hunc eundem quoque non praefati viri, sed alii moderni temporis asserunt, quantum vita ejus a fidelibus viris tradita testatur, temporibus Papae Clementis, successoris videlicet Petri Apostoli, Romam venisse, et ab eo praedicandi Evangelii gratia in partes Galliarum, directum fuisse, et Parisii martyrii gloria coronatum fuisse cum beatissimis suis consortibus, Rustico...atque Eleutherio."
2. This whole treatise is given in Joannis Launoyi...Opera Omnia, Vol.II, 1st Part, pp.376-388.
3. Ibid., p.375.
4. Ibid., p.375: "Interim cum Hilduinum novitatis accusari perspicirem, illius Areopagitica legi et perlegi, ac tandem inveni auctorem esse indignum cui fides ulla haberetur; quod opusculo parvo declaravi."

he tells us, the Areopagitica of Hilduin, and finding it unworthy of credence, declared so in a small work entitled ¹
De Areopagitica Hilduini Judicium.

Launoy prefaced his work with the following quotation from Innocent III, "falsitas tolerari non debet sub velamine pietatis", and then enters into his analytic criticism of Hilduin and a letter which Hincmar sent to Charles the Bald around 876.² If the two of these are correct, then Denis the Areopagite travelled from Athens to Rome, from Rome to Paris, and performed throughout Gaul the duty of an Apostle. But if they are wrong, "commentarii ac deceptiones in vagum pulverem fatiscunt".³

No one who is prudent is unaware, Launoy continues, of how much time must be spent in verifying information on the saints.⁴ In fact, in order that truth might prevail in such matters, the fifth Council of Carthage had decreed

1. Ibid., pp.389-406, first published in 1641.
2. In another work, "De Hincmari Epistola ad Carolum Imp. de Diony. Areopagitica Judicium", pp.407-413, Launoy proves that Hincmar used Hilduin as a source and thus is unreliable.
3. Ibid., "De Areopagitica Hild. Judicium", p.389.
4. Ibid., p.390: "Nemo prudens ignorat, quantus in disquirendo labor, quantum in discernendo judicium, quanta demum in asserendo debeat esse fides illius, qui in recensendis, aut vindicandis Sanctorum agonibus occupatur. Et enim...si fides in asserendo (desit), pleraque falsa pro veris asserta ingenti partium studio novae memoriae prodeuntur."

Ut altaria, quae passim per agros, et per vias
tamquam memoriae martyrum constituuntur, in quibus
nullum corpus, aut reliquiae martyrum conditae pro-
bantur, ab Episcopis...si fieri potest, evertantur:
si autem hoc per tumultus populares non sinitur,
plebes tamen admoneantur, ne illa loca frequentent.¹

Moreover, the Gallic Church adopted this canon and made it
its own in Charlemagne's Capitula I, xlii, "ut falsa nomina²
martyrum et incertae Sanctorum memoriae non venerentur".

Thus the Church, which does not need lies, has always and³
still does have a contempt and detestation for deception.

The Areopagitica of Hilduin, Launoy says, may be di-
vided into two parts: (1) that which he asserts on the
authority of older writers, some of whom are extant, others
not, and (2) that which he asserts through his own ingenui-
ty. Since in those authors that are available for comparison,
Hilduin is known to have made errors, certainly we cannot
give any credence to what he quotes from authors that are

1. Quoted by Launoy, ibid., p.379 (page misnumbered) and also to be found in Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta Quae olim Quarta Parte Prodiit Auctior Studio Philip.Labbei et Gabr.Cossarti, Soc.Jesu Presbyterorum; nunc...Stephani Baluzii et Joannis Harduini additamentis...locupletior...Tomus Secundus, Venetiis, 1728, c.1251-1368, "Codex Ecclesiae Africanae". Cf. c.1312, canon 73 for Launoy's quotation. The canon also appears among those of the Fifth Council of Carthage (398), canon 14, c.1456.
2. Quoted by Launoy, ibid., p.379, and also to be found in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II, "Capitularia Regum Francorum", Tomus I, Hanoveriae, 1883, p.56, #42.
3. Launoy, ibid., p.379: "Hanc (deceptionem) igitur... Ecclesia, quae ad commendationem hominum mendacio non eget, semper, ut apparet, detestata est, hodieque detestatur."

not extant, for, as Launoy says, you can't believe a liar¹ even when he is telling the truth.

Hilduin claims that the Acts of the Apostles and other historical works are evidence for the belief that Denis came from a noble family and was renowned throughout Athens for his work in Philosophy. Launoy replies that Luke in the Acts of the Apostles says nothing of the family of Denis.² Hilduin claims that the Acts of the Apostles mention Damaris as the wife of Denis. Launoy says in no place is Damaris called such.³ Hilduin says that Ambrose called Damaris the wife of Denis (Epist. ad Vercellenses). This too⁴ Launoy denies.

1. *Ibid.*, p.391: "In eo quod reperitur et legi potest, cum reperiatur falsitas; in ceteris, quae non reperiuntur, fidem opinor nullam meretur Hilduinus, cum mendaci nec vera etiam dicenti credatur."
2. *Ibid.*, p.391: "At Lucas in Actibus Apostolorum neque de Dionysii genere, vel generis nobilitate, neque de magisterio philisophiae loquitur...Haec tantum habet in cap.xvii: 'Quidam vero viri ei (Paulo) adhaerentes crediderunt, in quibus et Dionysius Areopagita et mulier nomine Damaris et alii cum eis'. Ubinam quaeso Dionysii Areopagitae genus, nobilitas, magisterium philosophiae? ubinam quaeso verbum unum, ex quo Dionysii potius quam Damaris genus et amplitudo generis deducatur?"
3. *Ibid.*, p.392: "Id certe non docet...Ubinam Damaris uxor Dionysii vocatur? Cum scriptura citatur, pura...citanda."
4. *Ibid.*, p.392: "At Sanctus Ambrosius Damarim non appellat uxorem Dionysii." Cf. also M.P.L., 16, "Sancti Ambrosii Epistolarum Classis I", Epistola lxi, c.1207 and 1208, wherein Launoy's statement is verified. Ambrose merely says: "Pro fide quoque exilii dura (Eusebius) atque elegit, conjuncto sibi sanctae memoriae Dionysio, qui posthabuit imperatoris amicitiam exsilio voluntario." He does not even mention Damaris.

Thus far the extant writings used as sources by Hil-
 duin. Next Launoy considers those authors whose works are
 no longer available and from whom Hilduin borrowed heavily.
 (1) Aristarchus. There are several men among the ancients
 who bear the name of Aristarchus, but none of them would
 remember Dionysius, the Bishop of Athens.¹ (2) Visbium. Who
 before Hilduin ever heard of a Visbium? (3) Missals and
 letters of Popes Innocent, Gelasius and Gregory; but no one
 before or after Hilduin ever saw those letters.³ (4) Eugen-
ius Toletanus, the Bishop to whom Hilduin assigned a hymn
 about Denis. But who besides Hilduin and the monks at the
 monastery of St. Denis has assigned to Eugenius such a poem?⁴
 Hilduin also ascribed a poem to Fortunatus, but perhaps Hil-
 duin wrote this himself since no copies of the works of
 Fortunatus, either printed or still in ms., show such a
 hymn.⁵

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1. Ibid., p.392: "...apud antiquos nullus memoratur auctor nomine Aristarchus, qui Dionysii Atheniensis Episcopi meminerit."
 2. Ibid., p.393: "Qui ante Hilduinum, vel Visbium vel Visbii conscriptionem noverit, haecenus inventus est nemo."
 3. Ibid., p.393: "Hos missales libros, has Pontificum epistolas, quas Hilduini causae serviunt, neque ante Hilduinum, neque post Hilduinum nemo vidit umquam."
 4. Ibid., p.393: "At praeter Hilduinum et monasterii Sancti Dionysii monachos nullus Eugenio Toletano Episcopo tribuit hymnum, quo beati Dionysii Areopagitae Parisiensis Episcopi laudes caneret. Edita sunt Eugenii poemata, inter quae hymnum ejus mosi non comparetur."
 5. Ibid., p.394: "Ante Hilduinum Fortunati hymnum hunc nemo viderat. Hilduinus omnium primus vidit et forsan composuit. Quicquid id est, monasterii sui foetum debet agnoscere, cum exemplaria Fortunati nulla seu edita, seu manuscripta hymnum illum exhibeant."

(5) There is no author among the Greeks prior to the age of¹ Charlemagne who wrote that Denis the Areopagite came to Rome.

(6) Hilduin speaks of a disputation between St. Paul and St. Denis, but comparison of St. Luke with Hilduin will prove² that there was no such argument.

Launoy now passes on to the second part, the part which Hilduin says he has written of his own ingenuity. Hilduin had prefaced this section with the following presumptuous remarks:

Ordinem historiae, sicut vestra jussit dominatio, in unum congestum, et singulatim postea plenitudinem eius discretam, cunctis legentibus atque audientibus pandemus. Nam divinae erit inspirationis et exequutionis, id quod desideramus, fideli animo propolare...

Launoy, of course, criticizes Hilduin for assuming to himself what has been granted to canonical writers only and³ then begins his critique.

1. Ibid., p.394: "At nullus auctor est apud Graecos Carolo Magno vetustior, qui Dionysium Areopagitam venisse Romanis literis mandaverit."
2. Ibid., p.395: "S. Pauli cum Dionysio disputatio, quae sic se habet in passione Beati Dionysii... In hac disputatione et narratione Hilduinus Paulo multa imposuit, sed ut recognoscantur facilius: beati Pauli verba ex cap. xvii Actorum ascribo... Haec autem Lucae verba omnia si quis cum Hilduini verbis componat: inveniet ab Hilduino tum alia multa Paulo imponi, tum maxime institutam cum Dionysio disputationem... Quicquid in causa, negari non potest, quin Hilduinus Paulo et Dionysio, multa tribuat, quae nec Lucas in actis, nec vetus auctor Lucae aequalis, vel aetate suppar tribuit umquam."
3. Ibid., p.396: "Sic divinae inspirationis tribuit, quod de beato Dionysio Parisiensi Episcopo dicturus est. Qua in re id sumit quod solis auctoribus Canonicis convenit. Hoc autem cum in Ecclesiastico tractatore nullo ferendum sit, in Hilduino longe minus ferri debet."

(1) Hilduin posits the fact that he who was sent by Clement into Gaul was the Areopagite, as if there were no other Denis¹ in the world besides the Areopagite. (2) Hilduin calls Athens a metropolitan city at a time in which it was not yet one.² (3) He also says that Athens was situated in the Attic Province of Hellas. But, Leunoy says, "Attica regio erat".³ (4) Hilduin again and again mentions a certain Rusticus as archpriest, of whom there is no mention in the Church of Paris.⁴ (5) He also refers to Lisbius as a martyr of Paris, but none of the ancients make such reference.⁵ (6) Hilduin assigned to Rusticus and Eleutherius ecclesiastical vestments which were not yet in use.⁶ (7) Hilduin indicates that Denis suffered martyrdom on a mountain, but⁷

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1. Ibid., p.396: "Ponit, eum qui a Clemente in Galliam mittitur, Dionysium Areopagitam fuisse, quasi praeter Areopagitam nullus in urbe vel in orbe fuerit Dionysius, qui a Clemente in Galliam mitteretur."
 2. Ibid., p.398: "Hilduinus urbem Athenas facit metropolim, quo tempore nondum erat Metropolis."
 3. Ibid., p.402: "Sed Attica regio erat Graeciae inter Achiam et Macedoniam sita, non provincia."
 4. Ibid., p.404: "Hilduinus Rusticum semel atque iterum et tertio nominat Archipresbyterum, cujus tunc in Ecclesia Parisiensi mentio esse non potuit."
 5. Ibid., p.404: "Hilduinus Lisbium facit Parisiensium martyrum primicerium, cujus apud veteres nulla usquam mentio."
 6. Ibid., p.405: "Hilduinus Rustico et Eleutherio tribuit vestimenta Ecclesiastica, quae tunc nondum erant in usu."
 7. Ibid., p.405: "In eadem passione Dionysii martyrium in monte collocat...At post annos octingentos primus omnium Hilduinus id dixit. In urbe passum esse, et in ea turratum habuisse tumulum significat Gregorius Turonensis."

Gregory of Tours says that his martyrdom took place in the city. (8) Hilduin attributed to Denis miracles which¹ neither Fortunatus nor Gregory have mentioned. He thus has bound himself with so many lies "ut in iis, quae solus² memorat, fidem nullam mereatur".

Having thus discredited Hilduin, the main source of those who would identify the two Denis', Launoy in 1642 published his response to Milletus' criticism of Sirmond's De Duobus Dionysiis in a work entitled Responsionis ad Dissertationem De Duobus Dionysiis Discussio.³ Among his criticisms of Milletus' methods of proof are the following:

(1) Milletus does not examine thoroughly documents to see whether they are true or false. Thus to the Gesta Conventus Parisiensis he assigns great authority although it is not⁴ considered such by theologians.

(2) Milletus prefers recent writers to the old, or at least⁵ he treats them on a par.

1. Ibid., p.406: "Hilduinus Dionysio asserit miracula quae neque Fortunatus, neque Gregorius Turonensis, neque veteres alli notarunt, non asserit vero, quae Gregorius notavit."
2. Ibid., p.406.
3. Ibid., pp. 437-555.
4. Ibid., p.434: "...quibus utitur monumentis, ea nullatenus examinat, sive falsa, sive dubia sint, suos in usus omnia cupidissime derivat. Sic Gesta Conventus Parisiensis, qui sub Ludovico imperatore propter imagines habitus est, summam in auctoritatem admittit, licet illa magnae non sint apud Theologos plures auctoritatis."
5. Ibid., p.434: "...in iis, quae ad praecipuam controversiam spectant, incertum rumorem historiae, et recentissimos scriptores antiquissimis non opponit modo, sed et saepissime praefert, cum nemo nesciat recentissimos auctores a ferendo de rebus antiquis testimonio per aetatem prohiberi."

- (3) He looks down upon Sulpicius Severus and Gregory of Tours, men who deserve well of the church.¹
- (4) He mixes truth with falsehood and produces no trustworthy writer before Charlemagne who said that Denis of Paris² was the same person as Denis the Areopagite.
- (5) A letter of Cyprian to his brother Stephen, relative to the question, Launoy considers a forgery because it was not contained in the oldest mss. of Cyprian.
- (6) As for the argument that few of the mss. of Cyprian contain all the letters of Cyprian and that Erasmus, a student of Cyprian's style, never excluded this from the letters because "sapit omnino stylum Cypriani et moribus et legibus, quae tum in Ecclesia vigeant, sine controversia congruit", Launoy answers: (a) Yes, he admits that there are few mss. containing all the letters of Cyprian, but he denies that so many could lack so important a letter, and (b) he rejects Erasmus as an authority, for since he does not explain what

1. *Ibid.*, p.435: "Sulpitium Severum superbe contemnit, virum de Ecclesia, de Gallia, et de ordine monastico bene meritum...Gregorium Turonensem ignominiose traducit, scriptorem quoque de Ecclesia et de Gallia bene meritum."
2. *Ibid.*, p.435: "Tametsi commentitia genuinis, incerta certis, et falso veris aliquando misceat, in tota tamen Responsione nullum probatae fidei scriptorem adducit, quo ante Carolum Magnum constet, Dionysium Parisiensem eundem fuisse cum Areopagita."

he means by the "moribus et legibus quae tum in Ecclesia¹ vigeabant", it is as if he said nothing.

(7) Even if Cyprian had written such a letter which was no longer extant, the fact of its existence ought to be attested to by other letters of Cyprian. Yet none of Cyprian's² letters to the Bishop of Gaul reflect any such idea.

(8) The style of the letter shows that it was not written³ by Cyprian.

(9) The martyrology of Usuard assigns separate days to Denis the Areopagite and Denis of Paris. This Milletus over-⁴looks.

1. Ibid., p.459: "Hanc epistolam Cypriani non esse, sed alterius, qui longo post tempore floruit, pluribus doceri potest argumentis. Primum est, quod in multis, quibus Cypriani epistolae continentur, manuscriptis optimae notae codicibus non extet: unus est in Bibliotheca Thuana vetustissimus, alter in Regia, tertius in Victorina, quartus in nostra Navarrica, quintus in monasterio Sancti Remigii Remensis, sextus in Bibliotheca Fuxensis Collegii, septimus Beneventanus dictus, Vaticani plures...Qua propter si multitudo codicum qui tam variis in locis extant, paucitati praeferri debet, epistola iudicabitur adscitiae, et certe mirum esset, cum epistola tam ponderosa in tot et tantis Cypriani exemplaribus desideraretur...Concedo quidem raros esse MSS codices, in quibus Cypriani epist. simul omnes scriptae sint, sed pernego reperiri tot codices, in quibus ponderosior vel aequae ponderosa desideratur...Erasmus epistolam habuit pro legitima, sed eius iudicio non stamus...Quinam vero sint mores et leges Ecclesiae de quibus agit non satis explicat, et cum non satis explicet, perinde est ac si nihil diceret."
2. Ibid., p.467: "Verum enimvero demus Cyprianum aliquam generis huius scripsisse epistolam, quae non extet amplius, eam aliquando extitisse, ex aliis epistolis manifestum esse debet. At ex eis, quas Cyprianus ad Episcopos Galliarum miserit, habemus nullam, nec ullam...extitisse unam quam in aliis epistolis significat."
3. Ibid., p.471: "...quia ab eloquenti et perito rhetore qualis est Cyprianus, aliena est haec locutio."
4. Ibid., p.500/

(10) The letters of Pippin which are produced as evidence are suspect for two reasons: (a) Hilduin would have used them to corroborate his story if they had existed in his day and (b) the archives from which these were taken were formerly the "officina" of spurious documents and privileges. In proof of which, Launoy quotes at length from these documents, pointing out the historical and chronological errors in them.¹

These then were the defects of the arguments of Milletus as Launoy sees them. Having thus disposed of the opposition who tried to prove that there was only one Denis, Launoy now takes upon himself the task of proving that there were two. To do this, he says, three conditions must be satisfied. (1) Writers of authority must attest to two Denis'. (2) They should agree in fundamentals. (3) They should extend back "continua serie" to the time about which they are writing. Not one of these three conditions is lacking in his proof, Launoy claims. Certainly, not the first, since writers of authority, Martyrologies, Litanies and Calendars (from all of which he quotes liberally) testify to the distinction between the two saints. Nor the second,

1. *Ibid.*, p.511: "Deinde has literas suspectae esse fidei duae res merito faciunt: prima, quod, illas retulisset Hilduinus, si tunc in tabulario Sancti Dionysii extitissent. Altera, quod tabularium illud, unde prodierunt, spuriarum chartarum et privilegiorum officina quondam fuerit, ut constat legentibus Antiquitates monasterii sancti Dionysii, quas Jacobus Dubletius in lucem emisit."

since those writers agree not only in sense but also in expression. And finally, not the third, since the testimony which he has offered rests not in Ado or Usuard or Bede, or in the old Roman Martyrology, but goes back to Gregory of Tours and to the author of the life of Saturninus, the martyr, an author who was older than Gregory and contemporary with Denis of Paris. He reports that Denis came to Gaul under Decius, and after suffering various punishments for Christ, was put to death.¹

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1. *Ibid.*, p.549: "Quae tria potissimum consueverunt ad verae traditionis assertionem desiderari, illa certe in nostra de utroque Dionysio sententia perfecte reperiuntur. Primum est, ut de eo, quod in traditione positum contenditur, diversis et temporibus et locis scriptum sit a pluribus exploratae fidei viris, qui in testes producantur. Alterum, ut scriptores illi, nisi verbis omnibus at certe sensu convenient in testimonio, quod de re tradita perhibent. Tertium, ut iidem scriptores ad primam rei gestae originem, quae caput veritatis est, continua serie reducantur. At nulla ex his tribus verae traditionis conditionibus nobis deest. Non prima quidem, cum et celeberrimum scriptorum auctoritates et diversarum Ecclesiarum Martyrologia, Litaniae, et Calendaria testentur, permultos fuisse exploratae fidei viros, qui utriusque Dionysii, Parisiensis et Atheniensis, discrimen memoriae prodiderunt. Non secunda, cum illi scriptores non sensu tantum sed iisdem aliquando fere verbis utrumque Dionysium designent Parisiensem et Atheniensem...Non denique tertia, cum quae de utriusque Dionysii distinctione testimonia laudavimus, non sistant in Adone, vel in Usuardo, vel in Beda; vel tandem in veteri Romano Martyrologio, sed et inoffenso pede vadant ad Gregorium Turonensem, et ad vetustiore Gregorio historiae Saturnini Martyris auctorem, qui Dionysii Parisiensis martyrio aequalis, aut suppar ex fidei aequalium recordatione scripsit, eundem Dionysium sub Decio in Galliam Venisse, ac postea diversis pro Christo affectum poenis caesum fuisse."

Menard, one of the defenders of the theory of one St. Denis, would reject the author of the life of St. Saturninus on the ground that he says that what he was writing was "fidei recordatione retinetur". For what assurance of truth have you, Menard objects, in some one who writes "non ex veteribus membranis, sed ex hominum sermonibus et corrente fama?"¹ Launoy answers this charge in much the same way as Bollandus does in the Preface to Volume I of the Acta Sanctorum of January,² and that is, that there are few Acta of the Confessors or Martyrs which Menard would not reject on this score. "Vel nulla vel certe pauca sunt Confessorum vel Martyrum acta, quae Menardus oratione hac non repudiet."³

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1. Ibid., p.555: "Sed urget adversarius: 'scriptor passionis Sancti Saturnini dixit, fidei recordatione retinetur. Quid tum? an non homini suas merces venditanti primum fuit hoc dicere? Quomodo enterosci potest, an fidelis sit haec recordatio, quae rumore vulgi spargitur, et tentum in ore hominum versatur? Quodnam fidele veritatis, habere testimonium potest is, qui scribit, non ex veteribus membranis, aut ex antiquis scriptoribus, sed ex hominum sermonibus et corrente fama?'"
 2. Cf. Infra, p.103.
 3. The observations of both Launoy and Bollandus are accurate particularly when it is recalled that Acta, properly so called, (i.e., official records of the trials of the martyrs which were drawn up by the secretary or notary in the court room) are very scarce. Very few of them survived the wanton destruction of Christian Churches which was ordered during the reign of Diocletian. Unofficial narratives, however, (Passiones), which were written by eye witnesses or other contemporaries, (e.g., the death of St. Polycarp, written the day after his death by the Christians of Smyrna in Asia Minor) are a little more abundant. Cf. H.Delehay, Les Passions des Martyrs et Les Genres Litteraires, Brussels, 1921; C.Kirsch, Enchiridion Fontium Historiae Ecclesiae Antiquae, 3rd Edition, 1914, p.48, sqq.

Finally, to settle the question about the two Dennis', Launoy himself wrote a life of Dennis the Areopagite, to which he prefaces a very interesting essay. My opponents keep shouting, Launoy begins, that because of my work on the two Dennis', the cult of the saints is diminished, But if my assertion should be true, as I have proved it to be, the contrary is the case, namely, the number of saints has been increased, and thus their veneration, But they, through their lack of thought offend the Church by whose authority they pretend to protect themselves, and with their nefarious writings they struggle to make others hated. Samblacatus of Toulouse did this in a book which he called a 'Palladium Galliae' but which scholars have termed a seditious declamation. The things which he says (in rhetorical language in order to deceive the unlearned) actually attack the prudence of our Church Councils, if we bear in mind that they have ordered us to worship God and His Saints in the spirit of truth. They have also directed that the codices of the Churches be corrected by removing those things which the ages had corrupted or which imprudent piety and ignorance had injected in them. Why should I mention, Launoy continues, the African Council? the Frankfurt Council? the Council of Trent?, in accordance with the authority of which the sacred books of the Churches are being reformed, with those things being removed which, if the opinion of the uneducated were asked, would never be touched?

Therefore, let these noisy men read and reread these Councils, and let them note that you first have to establish the truth of a saint's history before you build up his cult. When they have done this, Launoy continues, let them then, for the honor of the Church, stop insisting falsely that in those good dissertations which have been undertaken for the truth concerning the two St. Denis', that the cult of this or that saint is being destroyed. Especially let them inspect the Breviary, corrected under Urban VIII, where they will find removed from the Office of St. Bruno those things which had been inserted for two hundred and fifty years. Why have I written thus, Launoy asks? So that Samblacatus and others might know that nothing pleases God except the truth, that He, to be sure, wishes to be praised in His Saints, but truthfully, and that the Saints themselves detest false heralds. For praise without truth is not Christian praise, but pagan adulation.

Quod hic praefaturi sumus, id potissimum exigit perversa non nullorum religio; qui in duorum Dionysiorum assertione Sanctorum cultum minui clamitant, cum si vera sit assertio, ut probavimus, contra ut augeatur Sanctorum numerus, sic et veneratio debeat augeri. Sed profecto inconsiderantia, vel potius factione offendunt Ecclesiam cujus auctoritate sese tueri simulant, et alios in invidiam rapere nefariis scriptis nituntur. Hoc prae ceteris machinatus est Tolosae Samblacatus in libello, quem ille quidem Palladium Galliae, eruditi vero et cordati homines seditiosam Declamationem inscribunt. Sed quae, ut rudes colorata oratione fallant, adferunt, cum in Concilia rejici peraeque possint, Conciliorum prudentiam configunt, si perpetuo jussum ab illis meminerimus, ut Deum et Sanctos eius in spiritu

et veritate colamus, ut sacri Ecclesiarum codices emendentur, iis omnino resectis, quae labentium saeculorum vices corruperant, vel quae imprudens pietas et ignorantia in illos codices immiserat. Quid referam Concilium Africanum? Quid Trullanum? Quid Francofordiense? Quid Senonense? quid postremo Tridentinum? ex cuius auctoritate sacri Ecclesiarum libri quotidie reformantur, et ex illis ea tollantur, quae, si consensus imperitae plebis expectaretur, numquam tollerentur. Illorum ergo Conciliorum decreta legant homines clamosi, notentque prius agendum esse de asserenda Sanctorum historia, quam de cultu, qui historicae veritati superstruendus est. Hoc autem cum partium studio soluti fecerint, propter honorem Ecclesiae mentiri desinant, piis Dissertationibus, quae pro veritate duorum Dionysiorum suscipiuntur, hujus vel illius Sancti cultum frigescere vel deteri majestatem...Sed praesertim inspiciant correctum sub Urbano VIII Breviarium, ubi ex officio B. Brunonis ea sublata comperient, quae ducentis quinquaginta circiter abhinc annis populorum historias, Meditationum libros, Novitiorum Institutiones, Claustrorum vitreos cancellos, et parietes terribili specie occuparunt...Quorsum igitur haec? ut uno verbo intelligant Samblacatus et alii, Deo nihil placere, nisi quod verum est; illum quidem velle in Sanctis suis laudari sed vere, et Sanctos ipsos falsa praeconia detestari, quod laus veritatis expers, laus Christiana non sit, sed gentilis adulatio.

Launoy also published in 1641 a work entitled Dissertatio de Commentitio Lazari et Maximini, Magdalenae, et Marthae, in Provinciam Appulsu², in which he discusses the location of Mary Magdalene's final resting place, the disputed martyrdom of Lazarus, and the actual existence of a Maximinus. He prefaces his treatise with a few well chosen

1. Ibid., p.557-8.

2. Ibid., p.204-249.

remarks on the means employed by him to separate truth from falsity. (1) In facts pertinent to the past, those especially must be believed who wrote at the time in which the events took place. (2) After contemporary writers should be placed those who were close to the time spoken of. (3) Apocrypha and writings of uncertain authors and particularly of more recent authors should hold no weight against reason¹ and the tradition of our elders. This statement, written early in the seventeenth century when history was in many instances "un oeuvre d'art", shows the truly objective historical sense of which Launoy was keenly aware.

The essay is divided into two parts, in the first of which he proves by copious quotations from Greek and Latin authors of the first thousand years of the Christian era that Martha, Lazarus, and Magdalene lived and died in the East. However, as to Maximinus, he proves that no Menology

1. *Ibid.*, p.204: "Praefatiuncula": "...Dissertationi geminam tribuamus partem, sed quae insuper tota his quatuor praescriptionibus, ut secernendae a mendacio veritatis gubernaculis dirigetur. Prima est, in rebus, quae ad historiam, et traditionem pertinent, iis maxime credendum qui quo tempore res ipsae gestae sint, scripserunt, dum nemo ceteroqui coaeuus notae probitatis et doctrinae refragetur. Altera, post coaeuos auctores magis eorum scriptis assentiendum, qui rerum gestarum temporibus viciniore, quam qui remotiores fuerunt. Tertia, Apocrypha, et quae incerti sunt auctoris, ac potentissimum recentioris, adversus rationem, et receptam majorum traditionem ponderis nihil habent, ac momenti. Quarta, perspicua Recentiorum, qui de his quatuor Sanctis hominibus infra annum Christi millesimum scripserunt, cum ab antiquiorum omnium consensione, tum inter sese in plerisque dissensio."

of the Greeks or Martyrology of the Romans, no writer from the East or the West for the first millenium makes any mention of him, so that those who believe that he was the leader or companion of Magdalene or the Bishop of Aix have based their story on men who have lived within the past five hundred¹ years.

The second part examines and explodes certain foolish stories which have been woven into the lives of Martha, Magdalene and Lazarus. For, as he repeats, Maximinus was unknown in Roman martyrologies, and even in the litanies of the Church at Aix no Maximinus is included. Since a Church would not omit the name of its founder, Maximinus must be considered a myth.²

Stories about Magdalene and Martha, Launoy says, have multiplied in Greek and Latin, some of which have already

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1. Ibid., p.213: "Nullum Graecorum Menologium, nullum Latinorum, nullus sive ex Oriente, sive ex Occidente scriptor, qui ad praestitutum tempus nostrum pertineat, de ullo meminit Maximino...Qui enim Maximinum Magdalenae ducem, seu comitem Aquensium Episcopum fuisse volunt, non ex aliis id conficiunt auctoribus, nisi qui quingentis abhinc circiter annis vixerint, et otiosorum hominum somnia in suos commentarios redegerunt."
 2. Ibid., p.216: "Certum est, ante annum MDLXXVI omni retro memoria in Romanis Martyrologiis incognitum fuisse Maximinum, qui in subdititiis Magdalenae et Marthae gestis Aquensium Episcopus appellatur...Secundum autem observatione summa dignum istud est, quod in Aquensis Ecclesiae Litanis quae in libro eiusdem Ordinario editae sunt Aquis anno MDLXXVII, apud Thomam Maillon, nullus omnino legatur Maximinus. Quis enim Ecclesiam vidit ullam, quae primum Episcopum suum, si pro Sancto habeatur, non invocaret in Litanis suis?...Hoc vitii genus non auderem Aquensi Ecclesiae tribuere, quae in veteribus Litanis de Maximino silet."

been discredited.¹ One such, concerning the meeting of Mary and Galen the physician, would have to be denied because one hundred and fifty years passed between their respective ages.² As for the burial place of Magdalene, the documents of four Popes prove that she was buried in the Monastery of Vezelay. For instance, a document of Martin IV contains the following information: "apud Vizeliacum Monasterium, ubi Gloriosum re-³quiescit Corpus Illius (Magdalene)", while a letter of Innocent III to the abbot of the monastery testifies to the fact⁴ that that monastery was the final resting place of Magdalene.

However, even the monks of Vezelay have been so anxious that credence be given to their story about the transfer

1. Ibid., p.221.
2. Ibid., p.221: "Fabulam unam narrat Michae Gycas, et refellit Annalium parte tertia: 'Cave autem', inquit, 'dilecte fili, ne forte per ea, quae hinc inde fabulosa sparguntur, tua quoque mens pervertatur. Famam enim apud multos obtinuisse, quod medicus ille Galenus in Magdalenam incid-erit, et audiverit ex ea, Christum quendam a nativitate caecum sanasse, cui Galenus responderit, necesse fuisse, ...alioqui visum caeco restituere non potuisse. Verum eiusmodi rumorem fabularum in ordinem et numerum referimus. Nam fideri prorsus nequit, ut de istorum sententia Galenus cum Magdalena sit collocutus, qui Marci Imperatoris in iis meminerit, quae ad Pisonem perscripserit, itemque Commodi mentionem Imperatoris in primo de moribus libro fecerit. Nam inter aetatem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et Imperium Commodi prope modum anni CL intercedunt."
3. Ibid., pp.229-230: "Monachi certum quoddam producere possunt Martini IV diploma, quo ad annum MCCXXCI Senonensem Ecclesiam visitantibus in festo Magdalene Indulgentiae conceduntur."
4. Ibid., p.232: "Cupientes igitur, ut monasterium vestrum, ubi venerandum corpus Beatae Mariae Magdalene innumeris coruscans miraculis sub celeri custodia venerabiliter conservetur etc."

of the body to their monastery that they care not whether the sources agreed in the date of the removal or the point of origin, provided they proved that the body was in their monastery. Some would thus hold that the event took place even before the founding of the monastery.¹

Launoy brings this work to a close with a word about the unreliability of facts found in the compositions of those who lived in an age far removed from the time of which they were writing. With these he wishes to have no part, because, as St. Augustine says: (Conf. XII, 25) "sententiam amant, non quia vera est, sed quia sua est."²

Our treatment of Launoy is to be concluded with a discussion of another work of his entitled: "De Cura Ecclesiae pro Sanctis et Sanctorum Reliquiis ac Sacris Officiis ab Omni Falsitate Vindicandis. Bayle in his article on Launoy

1. Ibid., p.233: "...ut suam translationem absolute probarent, sive ut eam adversus Aquenses defenderent, non curarunt, unde reliquias Magdalenae haberent, modo habere se probarent. Quare in quibusdam translationis libellis... translatum ab Aquensi urbe corpus Magdalenae scripserunt, pluribus etiam ante annis, quam Monasterium Vizelaci conderetur."
2. Ibid., p.244: "Ex illis tam. qui de rebus Magdalenae, Lazari et aliorum tractarunt, plures per aetatem aliquatenus excusandi sunt, tum quia cui res a suo seculo tam remotas scribunt, facilius labuntur, tum quia prae multitudine figmentorum quibus opprimebantur, vix licuit omnibus ea quae scriberent, ad certam amussim expendere. Aliud vero est diu expendere quas scribas, aliud simpliciter scribere, quae alius scribendo forte non expendit... Neque cum illis rem ullam habere volo, qui, ut ait beatus Augustinus lib. xii Confessionum cap. xxv 'sententiam etc.'"

had emphasized his belief that Launoy together with Papebroch and the Bollandists was punished by the Church because he, with them, dared to expose as false certain stories about the saints which had long been accepted as true. And the Church, as Bayle tries to point out with bigotry, is opposed to change of any sort, and just as ancient Rome whose prosperity depended on the conservation of old rites, it protects those who sponsor false devotions.¹ But Launoy, the very man whom Bayle strives to defend in this uncalled-for attack on the Church, actually proves from abundant sources that such was not the case, and that the Church, rather than holding on to falsities, has from the beginning gone to great extremes to see that the false be removed and the true installed.

He begins his work by stating that it will offend two classes of people: (1) the 'superstitiosi' and (2) the 'impii'; the superstitious, because they maintain that everything in print is true, and because they despise all efforts used in amending the mss. of sacred writings; the impious,

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1. Bayle, op.cit., p.109: "Les protecteurs de la fausse dévotion ne voudront jamais reculer: ils trouvent trop bien leur compte à ne demordre rien, et ils sont assez puissans pour se garantir de toute contrainte. La cour de Rome les secondera et les soutiendra. Il semble que l'église romaine ait adopté la religion du dieu Termus de la république romaine. Ce dieu ne cedait à rien, non pas même à Jupiter; ce qui était un signe, disait on, que le peuple Romain ne reculerait jamais, et ne céderait jamais un pouce de terre à ses ennemis...Les Jesuites, avec tout leur grand credit, n'ont pu empêchere que l'inquisition de Tolède n'ait condamné plusieurs volumes des Acta Sanctorum."

because they hate everything that has to do with God and His saints. Both groups are annoying to the Church, he says, but the superstitious more so, because they do not wish truth to be separated from falsehood, certainty from uncertainty. The Church thus rejects the 'impii' and disapproves but tries to correct the 'superstitiosi'. For the Church, whose foundation rests on the profession of truth and which thus always shrinks from falsity, will seek out, Launoy continues, the truth not only in other matters but also in those things which pertain to the veneration and relics of the saints. Many things, the writings of the Fathers and Theologians, Church Councils, all point to the care and diligence of the Church in this respect.

Hic tractatus hominum genera duo ferit, superstitios, et impios. Superstitiosi certa et vera promiscue tenent omnia, quae vel exposita sunt, vel prodita literis, oderuntque diligentiam omnem, quae in Sanctorum veneratione, in excernendis illorum reliquiis, atque emendandis sacrorum officiorum codicibus adfertur. Id ignorant et ignorare volunt quod B. Augustinus in libro de Vera Religione Cap. lv tradit: "Non sit nobis religio in phantasmatibus nostris...."....Impii susque deque habent omnia, quae ad religionem pertinent, nec veri ac falsi discrimen ullum gerunt...Utrique homines sunt molesti Ecclesiae, sed superstitiosi impiis molestiores mihi videntur. Impii cum tales agnoscuntur, nihil aut parum incommodant. Inter omnes convenit, eos nec de Deo, nec de rebus Ecclesiae bene sentire...Superstitiosi sua vivendi agendique ratione vehementer officiunt Ecclesiae, cum certa ab incertis, vera a falsis, ut pretiosum a vili separari nolint. Ab illis difficile cavetur: Ineruditos, simplices et incautos circumveniunt, in suas partes trahunt...Christiana Ecclesia impios rejicit, et superstitiosos non approbat, et quoad ejus fieri potest, corrigit...Praeterea tunc nihil est certius certis periculis, quae superstitiosi minantur, et mala quae objiciunt omnia

Christianorum veterum patientia vix devoraret. Sed vera devorabat Ecclesia cujus firmamentum in unica professione veritatis consistit ideoque falsitatem semper abhorrent, cum in aliis, tum in iis quoque, quae ad venerationem et reliquias Sanctorum, ac sacra, quae in coetu piorum leguntur, officia spectant. Ecclesiae porro curam ac diligentiam, de qua tractatum instituimus, circa singula demonstrant, quae variis temporibus et rerum condicionibus Patres, Concilia, Theologi gesserunt.¹

Chapter I of this work proves the care which the Church has manifested in the veneration of the Saints. This he does by quoting from a Council of 314 which decreed:²

Quod omnem Christianum non oporteat deserere martyres Christi, et ire ad pseudomartyres, id est, haereticorum, et quos ipsos consistet haereticos extitisse. Hi namque sunt alienati a Deo, sint igitur anathema, qui ad tales accesserint.

He repeats the order of the Fifth Council of Carthage to the effect that the altars which had been set up in the fields and roads to the memory of saints whose mortal remains or relics were not proven to be buried therein be overturned by the Bishops who had jurisdiction over these places. If the shouts of the crowd should oppose such destruction, then the people should be advised not to frequent those places, "nam

1. Launoii...Opera Omnia, Vol.II, Part I, pp.338-361. Preface.

2. Ibid., p.339: Launoy takes this quotation from the canons of the "Laodicenum Concilium". Yet I was unable to locate this among the councils of 314 which have been recorded in either Labbe's Sacrosancta Concilia ad Regiam Editionem Exacta, or in its supplement, Sanctorum Conciliorum et Decretorum Collectio Nova by Joannes Dominicus Mansi, Lucae 1748.

3. Cf. infra, p.67.

quae per somnia et per inanes quasi revelationes quorumlibet hominum, ubicumque constituerunt altaria, omnino improbentur". Also quoted is the Council of Rome under Gelasius, in which Gelasius with seventy bishops decreed that it was not fitting that the lives of the saints be contaminated by falsehoods.¹ He cites also canon 42 of the Synod of Frankfurt of 794: "Ut nulli novi Sancti colantur, aut invocentur, nec memoriae eorum per vias erigantur; sed hi soli in Ecclesia venerandi sunt, qui ex auctoritate passionum et vitae merito electi sunt."²

Included also is #42 of Book I of the "Capitula" of Charlemagne,³ together with the remark of Melchior Cano, the Dominican, who stated that Suetonius has handled the lives of the Caesars, more carefully than Christians have the lives of the saints.⁴

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1. Launoii...Opera Omnia, p.340: "Gelasius cum septuaginta Episcoporum Concilio censuit, non decere, ut Sanctorum res gestae, falsis et commentitiis fabuli(s) contaminentur. Intelligebat...vir summus, eos Ecclesiae Christi vehementer incommodare, qui res Sanctorum praeclare gestas non se putant egregie exposituros, nisi eas fictis et revelationibus et miraculis adornarint." Mansi op. cit., Vol. I, c.355-376 records the "Concilium Romanum Sub Gelasio". c.366: "Item Gesta sanctorum Martyrum, quae multiplicibus tormentorum cruciatibus, et mirabilibus confessionum triumphis inradiant. Quis ista Catholicorum dubitet, et majora eos in agonibus fuisse perpressos? Nec suis viribus, sed Dei gratia et adiutorio universa tolerasse? Sed ideo secundum antiquam consuetudinem, singulari cautela in Sancta Romana ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscripsere nomini penitus ignorantur: et ab infidelibus & idiotis superflua, aut minus apta quam rei ordo fuerit, esse putantur."
 2. Ibid., p.340.
 3. Cf. supra, p.67.
 4. Launoii...Opera Omnia, p.341.

Chapter II proves in the same manner, that is, by copious quotations, the care shown by the Church in the veneration of the relics of the saints, and Chapter III treats of the diligence of the Church in correcting the Books of the Divine Office. There are so many things which attest to the interest of the Church in this respect, Launoy asserts, that he will have to select only a few.¹ He thus quotes among others St. Augustine,² Pope Gregory,² the Council of Rome³ under Pope Zachary and Letaldus, a monk who in 1020 wrote:⁴

...nihil enim ei (Deo) placet, nisi quod verum est. Sunt autem nonnulli, qui dum attollere Sanctorum facta appetunt, in lucem veritatis offendunt: quasi Sanctorum gloria mendacio erigi valeat, qui si mendacii sectatores fuissent, ad sanctitatis culmen nequaquam ascendere potuissent. Dicenda ergo cum veritate sunt, quae veritas gessit, quia si aliquis Patrum aliquod dicitur fecisse miraculum, non illud homo, sed Deus operatur; qui potens est operari, in quo et per quem vult hominem.

Also included as evidence of the care of the Church in these matters is the following extract presented by Launoy from the⁵ twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent of 1563:

Sacro sancta (sic) Synodus in secunda sessione sub sanctissimo Domino nostro Pio quarto celebrata, delectis quibusdam Patribus commisit, ut de variis censuris ac libris, vel suspectis, vel perniciosibus (sic) quid facto opus esset considerarent, atque ad ipsam sanctam Synodum referrent:

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1. Ibid., p.350: "Tam multa sunt, quae pium hoc in genere testantur Ecclesiae studium, ut qui vellet ire per singula, infinitus esset."
 2. Ibid., p.351.
 3. Ibid., p. 352.
 4. Ibid., p.354.
 5. Ibid., p.356

audiens nunc huic operi ab eis extremam manum impositam esse, nec tamen ob librorum varietatem et multitudinem distincte et commode possit a Sancta Synodo dijudicari, praecipit, ut quicquid ab illis praestitum est, sanctissimo Romano Pontifici exhibeatur, ut ejus judicio et auctoritate terminetur et evulgetur. Idemque de Catechismo a Patribus, quibus illud mandatum fuerat, et de Missali et Breviario fieri mandat.

Thus all the above prove according to Launoy how diligent the Church has always been in seeing to it that nothing be included in the Sacred Office and the Lives of the Saints which was inconsistent with truth. Polybius (Hist. XVI) has said, Launoy remarks, that it is necessary sometimes for a historian to mingle things done with things not done, but he warned that a certain limit should be set to such interpolation, for the less fiction the better. The Church, however, Launoy insists, needs no fiction. A false religion would need the fallacies of Polybius; a true religion would not, for the simpler, the purer and the more sincere its story is, the more magnificent and noble it becomes. Those thus who introduce false stories of the saints commit a grave wrong and should scarcely be considered Christians, for by their lies they make the religion of Christ a laughing stock among the irreligious. Those also err greatly who do not want uncertainties to be removed from the lives of the saints and who keep shouting that the saints are being routed from heaven and that religion is being undermined. For the care of the Church in expunging false saints has given those outside our

Faith reason to praise us or at least not to accuse us.

This, then, is Launoy, the so called "dénicheur des saints". How improper and unjust this epithet was, particularly if applied to him in an irreligious manner, has certainly been clarified by the words and works quoted in the preceding pages. Launoy was not a sceptic but a sincere and devout man who was intent in his search for truth, a man who was merely doing what the Church had always wanted done, namely removing falsehoods and errors from the lives of the

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1. *Ibid.*, pp.359-61: "His explanata monumentis Ecclesiae traditio docet, quantum semper adhibitum fuerit studii ac diligentiae, ut in Sacris Officiis et Sanctorum historiis nihil legeretur unquam, quod a veritate abhorreat...traditur in Polybii excerptis e libro xvi historiae...'Enimvero in iis quidem, quae ad conservandam vulgi pietatem erga numen pertinent, danda est nonnullis scriptorum venia, si miraculorum narrationibus, et id genus fabulis indulgeant. Veruntamen quod modum excedit, illis non condonandum. Est quidem fortasse in omni re difficile terminum invenire, ubi sistas...'...Ceterum quae falsa est religio, Polybii documentis fuco et fallaciis indiget ad sui conservationem: quae vera est religio, horum nihil exigit, ut retineatur. Quo simplicior est, purior ac sincerior illius apparatus, eo magnificentior et augustior...Qui incerta Sanctorum nomina vel memorias pro certis obtrudunt...Ecclesiae contradicunt, superstitionem inducunt, ideoque diris iure devoventur. Apud Christianos enim nulla capitalior pestis est hoc hominum genere, qui inter verum et falsum discriminis nihil constituunt. Quin etiam Christianorum nomine vix censendi sunt, qui cum ista faciunt, ridendam impiis Christi religionem propinant...Pari fere modo peccant, qui...impediunt, ne quae incertae sunt Sanctorum memoriae...tollantur...vociferantur, pietatem laedi, cultum divinum imminui, Sanctos caelo deturbari...Qui seorsum a nobis per religionem sentiunt...profecto habent, quod Catholicam laudent Ecclesiam, vel saltem non habent, quod illam accusent."

Saints. Launoy can no more be called a "denicheur des saints" than can the great company of Jesuits who under John Bollandus strove to do on a large scale what Launoy could do only in a limited way. These distinguished scholars we are now ready to discuss.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY BOLLANDISTS

In 1603, the very year in which Launoy was born, there had been drawn up the plan for a work on the Lives of the Saints which was so monumental in scope and so critical in its approach that not even the year 1949 has witnessed its complete execution. For it was in this year that Herbert Rosweyde of the Society of Jesus, a man of great learning, designed the plan for the Acta Sancto-¹rum. Born at Utrecht in 1569, he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Tournay in 1588, leaving there for Douay where he remained five years, first as a student of philosophy and then as teacher of humanities and rhetoric, again being recalled to Douay in 1599 to perform the duties of professor of philosophy. Despite such diversity of talents, Rosweyde's real pleasure and enjoyment lay in the

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1. For information on the life and activities of Rosweyde, cf. "Memoriale de Patris Heriberti instituto quoad sanctorum historias et vitas illustrandas", ms. 259 of the Bollandist library, published in Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique de Belgique, t.V. pp.263-270, Louvain, 1868; Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur, quae ex antiquis monumentis, latinis, graecis, aliarumque gentium collegit, digessit, notis illustravit Ioannes Bollandus... Operam et Studium contulit Godefridus Henschenius, Januarii t. I, Antwerpiae, 1643, "Preface"; L'Oeuvre des Bollandistes par Hippolyte Delehaye, S.J., Bruxelles, 1920, p.7 sqq.; Études Sur Les Bollandistes by Jean B. Pitra, O.S.B., Paris 1850, Ch.2; and the periodical, "L'Oeuvre des Bollandistes" by P.Peeters, S.J., Bruxelles, 1942, pp.4-13.

study of ecclesiastical antiquity, particularly the lives of the saints or the 'passiones' of the martyrs. For, while studying philosophy at Douay, so great was his interest in such matters that he spent his spare time in the nearby Benedictine monastery hunting for old mss. of the Acta, ready to transcribe those which seemed to him to be generally unknown. Nor did he confine himself to the collection of one monastery, for he spent ten years visiting the libraries of monasteries in Louvain, Antwerp and Liege with this purpose in mind.¹

Thus, when in 1603, Father Oliver Manare, sent by the Father General to visit the houses of the Belgian Province, made inquiries concerning the studies then being pursued, Rosweyde revealed his interest in the lives of the saints and added that he was surprised to find in them many apocryphal stories. He thereupon suggested that it would be possible to verify them or deny them by examining the many

1. Cf. Acta Sanctorum Martii, T.I, 1668, "Tractatus Prae-liminaris de Vita, Operibus, et Virtutibus Ioannis Boll-andi S.J.", p.6: "Cooperat vir ille (Rosweyde), vere magnus animo et doctrina, iam inde cum Duaci Philosophiam doceret, nonnullas Sanctorum Vitas colligere, in eaque collectione primis adhuc decem annis praesentis seculi laboris aliquid diligentiaeque posuerat." Cf. also Peeters, op.cit., p.5.

mss. of the Acta which abounded in the libraries of Europe¹ and then publishing them for the glory of God and His saints. Such a plan having received the approval of his superiors, Rosweyde constructed the outline of his future publications in a small work entitled Fasti Sanctorum quorum Vitae in Belgicis Bibliothecis Manuscriptae, published in Antwerp in 1607. There he speaks as follows, and I quote at length to prove Rosweyde's motivation in the Acta. Truth was what he sought, and he thus invoked the aid of other lovers of the saints to inform him of any error in his plan or to send² him any record that might be lacking to his collection.

Ego sane etsi Sanctorum historiae optime velim, et si otium sit, non omnino nihil in ea possim, imitabor hodie pictores sciographos, qui antequam rem ipsam vivis coloribus expriment, soliti prius rudia quaedam lineamenta ducere, et imaginem ipsam...liciare. Ita si rubrica, si carbo, si creta aberravit, de facili reformant, et futurae imagini perfectum exemplar statuunt. Non ita pridem nulli sanctorum historia omnis aetatis, sexus, nationis, ex variis Belgicae

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1. Memoriale de Patris Heriberti instituto...: "Cum reverendus pater Oliverius Manareus Belgicae provinciae visitatorem ageret, et nonnulla requireret, quae studia spectarent, et quo potissimum studii genere quis Ecclesiae prodesse, et Societatem illustrare posset; proposuit inter cetera pater Heribertus, se, legendo subinde sanctorum historias animadvertisse multa apocrypha, nonnulla etiam rectae fidei non valde conformia.

Addebat, multas in Belgicis bibliothecis latere vitas sanctorum manuscriptas, multas quoque ex aliis provinciis posse impetrari, quae operae pretium esset in lucem prodere, ad Ecclesiae decus et sanctorum gloriam.

A quo studio, si ita superioribus videretur, et otium daretur, se non abhorreere affirmabat."

2. Acta Sanctorum, Jan., T.I, "Joannis Bollandi Praefatio", pp.xxii-xxiii, where Bollandus quotes directly from the Fasti of Rosweyde.

Bibliothecis collecta, descripta, ab amicis transmissa in diesque moles descripta. Quam priusquam in ordinem redigam,...placuit hunc sciographiam prae-mittere, ut si vel a me in hoc sacro instituto erratum vel sicubi ac Ecclesiasticam hanc pinacothecam perficiendam vel tabula vel color aliquis desit, is ab Sanctorum amatoribus liberali manu communicetur.

There were to be eighteen volumes in his work, distributed as follows:

- Vol.I: De Vita Christi et festis Eius.
- Vol.II: De Vita Beatae Mariae et festis eius.
- Vol.III: De Sanctorum festis diebus publice solemnibus.
- Vol.IV-XV: Acta Sanctorum (one for each month).
- Vol.XVI: Martyrologia.
- Vol.XVII- Notae et Tabulae.
- XVIII:

Vol. XVII was to include annotations of the texts published in volumes IV-XV, and he intended to treat the following classifications: (1) Authors of the lives of the saints, (2) tortures of the martyrs, (3) pictures and statues, (4) ecclesiastical rites mentioned in the lives, (5) profane rites, (6) chronological questions, (7) geographical questions and (8) glossary of obscure terms. Vol. XVIII was to embrace all the various indices.

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His plan, in brief, was as follows: (1) Seek out the lives of the saints that had not yet been edited by others such as Surius and Lipomani; (2) Collate these lives with mss. and old books for a double reason: (a) Often the original style, being rough and coarse, had been polished by editors with a subsequent loss of the true facts, and

1. Ibid., p.xxiii.

(b) Often the entire Vitae were not edited, for at times the prologue was omitted, and sometimes the miracles. (3) Seek out the lives not yet edited. (4) Illustrate all the lives; explain obscure points. Furthermore, there are some Acta which he is not going to handle because he has decided to include no lives in his work unless he had obtained the ms. copy of Vita or unless it was evident that the Vita which he possessed had been faithfully and fully copied from the archetype.

This little work, containing within itself the seed of so stupendous a production, found its way to scholars all over the world. When Cardinal Bellarmine saw it, he was far from encouraging and proclaimed that the work would require two hundred years and that furthermore it was objectionable because original texts of the lives of the saints would reveal many foolish improbabilities which would raise a laugh¹ rather than contribute toward the edification of the reader.

But others were not so discouraging. The Abbot of² Liessies, Anthony de Winghe, showed his interest by supplying

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1. Letter of March 7, 1608, preserved in the library of the Bollandists, and published in Acta SS., Oct., T.VII, p.1: "...ne forte in originalibus historiis multa sint inepta, levia, improbabilia, quae risum potius quam aedificationem pariant: haec enim causa fuit quae Surium coegit multa detrahare vel mutare."
 2. Delehaye, op.cit., p.14; Peeters, op.cit., p.11; Pitra, op.cit., p.12; Acta SS. Jan., T.I., "Praefatio", p.xli.

Rosweyde not only with letters of introduction to Benedictine abbeys but also with money, books, mss. and even copyists. Rosweyde however never advanced his work beyond the blueprint stage, for other duties occupied his time while at Antwerp. However, in 1615 there appeared from his pen¹ a collection of lives which serves as the foundation stone for the Acta Sanctorum, namely the Vitae Patrum, de vita et verbis seniorum libri X.² For the purpose of editing this work Rosweyde gathered twenty three mss. which he compared and classified, as he explains in one of the twenty six prolegomena. All the writings, preceded by an introduction and followed by notes on difficult passages, establish this as a masterpiece of hagiographical collections.

In addition to the two works mentioned above, Rosweyde wrote about twenty other smaller works. When one realizes that all this literary activity was carried on by him in his spare time, it is not too surprising to hear Bollandus complaining about the disorganized mass of mss. which he

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1. Delehaye, op.cit., p.16: "L'oeuvre capitale de Rosweyde, le Vitae Patrum parut en 1616. C'est véritablement la pierre fondamentale des Acta Sanctorum."
 2. Vitae patrum, de vita et verbis seniorum libri X historiam eremiticam complectentes auctoribus suis nitori pristino restituti ac notationibus illustrati opera et studio Heriberti Ros-veydi, lxxix-1044 pages, Antwerp 1915.

first encountered when, upon the death of Rosweyde in 1629, he was commissioned to take over the hagiographical work of his colleague. For Bollandus tells us that the Superiors of the Order, not wishing Rosweyde's death to interfere with his planned edition of the *Acta Sanctorum*, asked him to look into the work because they knew that he was not averse to such studies and because, as he adds, he was "integra¹ etiam aetate ac firmis viribus".

2

Born in Limbourg August 13, 1596, John Bollandus entered the Society of Jesus in September 1612, studied rhetoric at Antwerp, theology at Louvain and was ordained to the priesthood in 1625. Appointed prefect of students at Mechlin, he performed that duty for five years, during which time his fatherly devotion and care endeared him to his students. It was also during this period that he made the acquaintance of some of the most cultured men of his day, Dupuy, Herman Hugo, Andrew Schott and Rosweyde. Thus it was while in the performance of these school tasks that

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1. *Acta SS., Jan., T.I.* "Praefatio", p.x-xi: "Non oportuit tamen quae ille multo tempore, magno labore collegerat, illius morte intercipi universa...Ad me...adiere, quod nec abhorrerere me ab illis studiis nobant, et integra etiam tum aetate ac firmis viribus esse."
 2. *Acta SS., Martii, T.I.*, 1668, "Tractatus Praeliminaris de Vita, Operibus et Virtutibus Ioannis Bollandi S.J.," pp.i-xlvi.

Bollandus was summoned to look into the Acta Sanctorum. He accepted the task timidly at first, and afterwards when he realized the density and darkness of the forest which he had entered upon, "quam nihil ordinatum ac dilucidatum ab Rosweydo esset", he regretted his decision.¹ A more complete picture of the full force of this simple phrase of Bollandus may be seen in the "Vita Bollandi" which appears in Vol. I of the Acta SS. of March.

For, although Rosweyde had developed a very elaborate plan for the Acta Sanctorum, yet that was all it was. The work itself had not gone beyond the blueprint stage. He had nothing prepared for the press although he had indicated that the month of January was already on the shelf awaiting the printer. And although he had promised a volume each on the life and feasts of Christ and the Blessed Mother, yet he left on paper only enough to fill two or three "terniones" for anyone who would wish to enlarge on his plan. Not even by divination would we be able to know, Bollandus' biographer says, in what way he anticipated three whole volumes from those mss. which he had. For the third volume which was supposed to cover the feast days of the saints, scarcely anything worthy of consideration was found.

1. Acta SS., Jan., T.I, "Praefatio", p.xi: "...timide illud capessivi. Postea vero, ubi animadverti in quantam essem silvam, quam densam, quam opacam ingressus, quam nihil ordinatum ac dilucidatum ab Rosweydo esset, prope me coepti poenituit."

As for the twelve volumes of the lives of the saints, there was nothing prepared but an undigested mass of mss. The final two volumes, the one of notes, the other of indices, were as far from the press as the books they were supposed to serve.

Ita factum est, ut praeclara illa de Vitis Sanctorum ex MSS Belgicarum bibliothecarum primogenio stylo eruendis cogitata differentur in longum; ac demum interveniente morte...evanescerent. Dixi non coepta, sed cogitata dumtaxat, nam licet Rosweyodus editis a se Sanctorum Fastis, quorum Vitas in MSS Belgicis sciebat reperiri, quamdam sperandi a se operis ideam praegixerit: nihil tamen habuisse paratum praelo, aut brevi parabile vel ex hoc colligas, quod primum, secundumque; tomum de Vita et festis Christi et B. Virginis promiserit; in chartis autem nihil reliquerit, quod de eo argumento scribere volenti unum duosque terniones impleret; ac ne divinando quidem possumus assequi quomodo speraverit duos integros tomos, sub istis titulis ex solis antiquis, quod propositum habebat, manuscriptis conficiendos. Ex his autem qui primi futuri erant quidni de reliquis iudicemus, nihilo paratiores fuisse ad praelum, etsi materia esset collecta copiosior? Pro tomo tertio, qui de Sanctorum diebus publice festis futurus erat, vix aliquid consideratione aut praelo dignum inter collectanea repertum est: pro duodecim vero sequentibus tomis, iuxta ordinem mensium Vitas aliorum Sanctorum habituris, rudis dumtaxat indigestaque moles. Denique decimus sextus tomus, ex septem iam ante id tempus impressis Martyrologiis, per singulos anni dies collectus erat descriptusque ab amanuensibus...Post illos sedecim tomos excusos promittit Rosweyodus tomos duos Illustrationum, ut appellat; quorum primus Annotationum foret, secundus Indicium. Sed hystanto longius aberant a praelo quanto minus parata erant ea, quibus subservire debebant volumina.¹

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1. "Tractatus Praeliminaris De Vita...Bollandi", Acta SS. Martii, T.I, p.vi.

However, despite the immensity of the task, Bollandus accepted it with the hope that some good could be realized from the efforts expended therein. As proof, however, that neither the Provincial nor Bollandus himself realized the extent of the work is the fact that the Provincial told Bollandus to prepare the Acta Sanctorum in his spare time,¹ which he proceeded to do.

While Rosweyde had confined his collection of mss. to Belgium and to the immediate vicinity, Bollandus dared to include all of Europe as far as the Society of Jesus extended and for this purpose sent letters all over the continent. However, because of the time consumed in the regular duties for which he had been assigned to Antwerp, i.e., Sodality work, the Acta Sanctorum advanced not a step except for the acquisition of more mss. It was decided therefore that Bollandus be relieved of his Sodality duties. Thereupon, the Benedictine Abbot, Anthony de Winghe, always a great benefactor to the Bollandists, furnished the money for the

1. Ibid., p.vi: "Ivit, igitur, vidit, rediit Bollandus; in spem inductus haud omnino vanam inter tot paleas latere semen messis non contemnendae, ...Ad haec tamen duo cum destinaret Bollandum, addebat Provincialis, commendare hortarique se ut quod vacui haberet temporis id omne daret parandis ad praelum Sanctorum Actis, quae Rosweydeus collegerat."

support of an assistant, and Bollandus set about arranging all the edited lives and mss., and in order that he might prove to his superiors that he was not wasting his time, he decided to prepare for publication the lives of one month. Bollandus, however, did not intend to follow Rosweyde exactly, for he had some ideas of his own.

Rosweyde had intended the inclusion of those lives only for which he had the ms. or a faithful copy from the archetype. Bollandus felt that since the Acta of a great many saints had never been written as such, but had merely been mentioned frequently in literature, it would be permissible to describe their deeds as taken from these writers. Rosweyde, also, would keep from the reader all stories handed down by oral tradition. Bollandus, like Launoy, on the other hand, would include them on the grounds that nothing

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1. Ibid., p.xii: "Tam multis tamque variis simul rebus cum distraheretur Bollandus, primas tamen curas impendebat muneribus iis, ob quae gerenda potissimum fuerat Antwerpiam destinatus. Sodalitatem enim commissam sibi non modo habendis parandisque sedulo Latinis concionibus excolebat, sed ut Sodalium numero ac dignitate augeretur, dedit operam...Ita occupato Bollando tempus aliquod effluxit Antwerpiae...et nisi quod...relictamque sibi a decessore haereditatem magnam Vitarum undique acquisitionum et manuscriptorum codicum accessione auxisset, nihil aut parum admodum promoverat in opere...Decretum igitur...est, ut...transferretur Bollandus ad basilicae nostrae porticum superiorem...Paulo post...provisum est ut Sodalitati Latinae praeficeretur alius...Abbas Antonius Winghius numquam nobis nisi cum debita honoris et gratitudinis praefatione nominandus...octingentos Praeposito florenos obtulit, quibus domus haec...aleret Socium, P.Bollandi adiutorem."
 2. Cf. supra, p.77.

which contributed toward glorifying the saints should be neglected. Finally Rosweyde had planned to edit all the lives first and then the notes. Bollandus, however, would place the notes with each Vita¹ so that the reader might settle all doubts immediately.

After listing these differences between his plan and that of Rosweyde, Bollandus elaborates on his own principles about the relative merits of the Acta. Certain people, he begins, do not like any Acta unless they have been written in good style, for they feel that a poor style brings the saint into contempt. When no complete life of a saint exists, but only episodes taken from various authors, it would be preferable, in the estimation of these critics, in place of giving these detached pieces, to make a cento

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1. Acta SS. Jan., T.I., "Praefatio", p.xxiii sq.: "Nec vestigia Rosweydi anxie ac sollicite persequi animus est... Nec tamen recedam longius..."Vitas", ille, ut dixi, "nullas operi miscere" statuerat, nisi vel exemplar manu exaratum nanciscetur, vel certe constaret eas ipsas ex archetypis fideliter et integre expressas. Tam angustas mihimet ego metas non pono. Nam cum maximorum etiam Sanctorum et quidem plurimorum, mandata litteris acta non sint, aliorum interciderint; extet tamen utrorumque frequens apud Scriptores memoria; cur non licebit hic gesta eorum, ex iisdem accepta scriptoribus, commemorare... Quid, cum neque eius modi extat monumentum, nec probati scriptoris testimonium; viget tamen Sancti alicuius memoria, eiusque celebrantur benefacta et miracula, vel sola populi fama, vel positis etiam imaginibus et anathematis; nefas fuerit, quid maiorum sermonibus traditum sit, quamque id probabile videatur, exponere? Abstinuisset his omnibus manum Rosweydu: non ego; qui nihil, quod ad sanctorum honorem amplificandam conservandamque memoriam facere videatur, existimem esse negligendum... Cogitabat... Rosweydu primus solas edere postea de earum scriptoribus... et aliis disputare. Ego... satius esse duxi, ad singulas id vitas agere;..."

of all of them, while the editor would choose the more probable piece if there should happen to be discrepancies. With both these points Bollandus disagrees. (1) Although he agrees that the saints deserved to be written up by the best authors, yet such has not been the case since many writers thought it proper to write the Vitae in a style befitting the humility of the saint.¹ (2) Who am I, Bollandus asks, to choose what seems more probable or truthful? What authority have I to make such a pronouncement? Isn't it better for me to produce all the evidence, state my preferences, and leave the rest to the judgement of the reader? I would

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1. Acta SS. Jan., T.I., "Praefatio", p.xxiv: "Verum sentio esse quoddam, quibus Rosweydi non probetur, institutum, minus etiam meum; propterea quod existiment, satius esse urbano et venusto stylo, quae de Sanctis comperta sunt, narrari; quam rudera quaedam incondita, aut saxa potius barbari sermonis prolici: quin et Sanctos ipsos venire in contemptum putant, cum ita illorum res gestae narrantur. Cum vero ex variis auctoribus de Sanctis, quorum vel propria nulla, vel minus integra extat Vita, quaedam profero analecta; mallent unam concinnari continuam orationem, quam quasi centonem consui, ipsis auctorum verbis repraesentatis. Mallent cum invicem discrepant auctores, omnibus expensis, sententiam unam, quae probabilior videatur, affirmari, ceteris praetermissis... Merentur quidem Sancti ut a peritissimis scriptoribus res ab ipsis praeclare gestae mandentur litteris... Si qui... bene docti Sanctorum gesta mandare litteris aggressi sunt, ii vel animis in alias curas distractis expolire sermonem non potuerunt, vel ultro neglexerunt, rati stylum eum optimum esse Sanctisque gratissimum, qui cum ipsorum vitae modestia consentiret; ut sicut illi vulgo contempti contemnebant ipsi omnia seculi ornamenta, monumenta gloriae, laudis insignia, solo virtutum interno splendore contenti... ita omnis de eorum vita instituta narratio, humilis esset et inelegans, sola veritate et pietatis incitamento commendata."

rather the reader see what has been written than believe me as I tell it, for there will be no suspicion of fraud if people read the very words of the ancient authors. However, if he relates something that he has witnessed with his own eyes, he expects people to believe him; if he describes something that occurred before his own time, he will give all the evidence available. And if something is difficult¹ to understand, he asks permission to explain.

Bollandus continues with an elaboration of the guiding principle behind his work. He repeats that he is not writing as an eyewitness but is merely editing without change what has been presented by others, nor will he presume to say that such ~~and~~ such which has been handed down is false

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1. Ibid., p.xxiv: "...quis ego sum, qui cum discrepent atque inter se pugnant scriptorum variorum narrationes, ipse quod mihi visum fuerit, velut certum minimeque dubium pronuntiem, et mea unius, quae nulla est, firmem auctoritate. Nonne id satis est, si ubi plurimum discrepantia protulero testimonia, quodnam eorum et quamobrem praeferendum existimem, modeste exponam, aut etiam iudicium Lectori relinquam? Lectores malo quid olim de singulis Sanctis scriptum sit, intueri, quam mihi credere narranti. Aberit fraudis suspicio, cum ipsa veterum verba legentur...Atque ita quidem affectus animo sum, ut mihi haberi fidem nolim, nisi id narrem quod ipse oculis vidi, neque enim ita me hactenus vixisse arbitror ut tunc fidem non merear: ast in ceteris quae ante meam gesta sunt aetatem, nolo mihi credi, sed, quod proferam, testibus, quos ipsos suis volo verbis uti: quae tamen si quando obscuriora erunt, ut mihi interpretari ea et explicare liceat, deposcam."

and ridiculous and thus has been omitted by him. But anything which has been universally refuted, he shall omit with an explanatory reason.¹

He supplements this with a discussion of the qualifications which he would like to find in the authors of the Acta Sanctorum. Most preferable would be the Vitae written by eyewitnesses; then those written by men who had received their information from eyewitnesses; next those who have information from those who have been instructed by eyewitnesses, and finally those who write from documents. However, he adds, the works written by these four groups are to be praised only if the authors are good men. If they are heretics, it would be rash to have faith in them. Moreover, it must be remembered that eyewitnesses' accounts have been tampered with by others, and thus necessary

1. Ibid., p. xxxii: "Non eadem mea nunc ratio, qui ab aliis tradita litteris edo solum in lucem, quae neque spectavi ipse nec semper aliorum firmare certis testimoniis possum...Profiteor me quae de Sanctis tradita litteris repererim dare, nihil assuere, nihil mutare, nihil meo opte ingenio emendare, nihil praecidere, integra omnia et inviolata afferre, quoad possum. At si quid est vel a primaevo scriptum falso ac perperam, vel levi et temporaria interpolatione corruptum ac turbatum: non est perinde mihi expeditum verum a falso discernere, nisi aliunde lux certior historiae affulgeat. Quid mihi de singulorum Actis videatur, sive certos habeant auctores, seu secus, expono; et quatenus iis habeam fidem. Nec mihi id sumo, ut passim libere pronuntiem, falsa esse, ridicula, indigna, quae de Sancto quopiam hactenus tradita, eoque a me omitti...Si quid est tamen quod universim gravium testium refelli queat auctoritate, totaque narrationis forma ac modo confictum esse possim pronuntiare; id ita omitto, ut moneam tamen Lectorem."

precaution must be taken. Bollandus fails to enlarge on this point, and we are thus deprived of an insight into what may have been the palaeographical or diplomatic yardstick¹ applied by him to detect a vitiated ms. or document.

If all the lives of the saints could be reduced to the above four categories, he continues, the work of editing the Acta Sanctorum would be easier, but in the case of the martyrs and confessors, sometimes full accounts are lacking since the persecutors would permit no eyewitnesses and would not allow the Vitae to be recorded. Sometimes a suitable writer was not available to record the life of a saint, or jealousy might have prevented it. Then again many Acta were destroyed by the Edict of Diocletian or

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1. Ibid., p. xxxiii: "Primum ac summum gradum historiae scribendae...igitur principem historiae gradum statuunt viri eruditi cum quis ea quibus interfuit, quaeque gerivit, tradit litteris...Alterum gradum ii tenent, qui non spectarunt ipsi quidem, quae narrant; ab iis tamen accipere, qui suis ea oculis sunt contemplati..Tertius gradus est eorum, qui ea commemorant, quae non a spectatoribus ipsis accipere, sed ab iis quibus spectatores narraverant. Quarto in gradu ii locandi, qui quae stylo prosequuntur, ex historicis qui in gradibus iam enumeratis consistant, collegere, aut ex certis monumentis donationum, testamentorum, transactionum, aut commentariis, sed eorum dumtaxat qui aliquem ex antedictis obtinuerunt gradum. Ex his quidem omnes fidem merentur, si sunt viri boni, si prudentes, si pura eorum minimeque adulterata scripta sunt. Nam si eum qui se rei culpam gerendae scribit adfuisse, suspiceris haud satis a mentiendi libidine alienum, quia haereticus fuit, aut partes quas laudat pertinaciter secutus; inconsideratae temeritatis fuerit ei firmam fidem habere. Neque illud raro accidit ut quae probe scripta ab iis spectarant, ea postmodum alii interpolando limandove adulterent. Multorum id evenit Actis Sanctorum."

the incursions of the barbarians or other mishaps. Thus many of these lives had to be rewritten from memory alone, a fact which causes us to lose faith in some of them, for since we are all inclined to remember the miraculous, miracles are often recalled, but they are told in many different versions. In fact, many times the deeds or traits of one saint are credited to others.¹

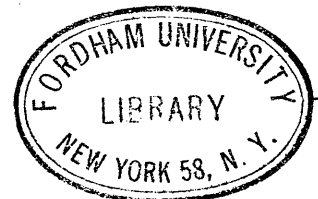
Some Vitae, originally written not from the changing tales of the people, but seriously and intelligently, were subsequently tampered with by heretics who rejected or excluded from the Lives those things which would be favorable

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1. Ibid., p. xxxiii: "Si quaecumque de Sanctis scripta extant, omnia forent eiusmodi ut ad horum quatuor graduum aliquem possent revocari, non esset mihi magnopere in eorum astruenda probabilitate laborandum... Nam neque omnium scripta olim Sanctorum sunt; et quae scripta, eorum quaedam abolitam deperdita quaedam, alia iam olim corrupta et vitiata. Ipsi nonnumquam tyranni in tabulas referri acta martyrum non sunt passi... Quandoque nemo adfuit eo vel religionis ardore, ut ea excipere auderet, vel doctrinae praesidio, ut posset... Martyrum acta... verisimile est Diocletiani feralibus edictis dissipata absumptaque esse... eorum multa tum Romae tum alibi vel barbarorum incursione ac populatione, vel fortuito aedium oppidorumque incendio perire; qua ratione multae aliorum quoque Sanctorum Vitae, quas olim accurate conscriptas esse constat, interierunt. Haec igitur est causa, quare multarum Vitarum nunc incerta sit fides. Primo namque, cum ita primigenia illa Divorum acta essent dissipata, superesset tamen nomen Sanctorum, et miraculis coruscaret, oportuit acta eorum, aliquot, postquam e vita migrarent, seculis, vel ex veteribus historiis, vel... ex sola populi, sed accepta a maioribus, fama describere... Sed quia fere quae inusitata maxime admiramur et memoria retinemus; ideo quandoque sola colligi miracula potuerunt... miracula... sed frequenter ita vel exaggerata, vel... variis adiunctis et circumstantiis deformata, ut apud quosdam in anilium fabularum numero habeantur. Saepe miracula eadem variis adscribuntur."

to the Catholic religion. It is for this reason, Bollandus says, that he sought old mss. in order to collate them and see if a fraud had been perpetrated. Even agreement among old mss. does not necessarily assure the reader of the absence of fraud. Examination of other writers who have treated the lives of these same persons will indicate the truth.

Reflecting the criticism of the age concerning the lives of the saints, Bollandus says that many men think that the majority of the Lives of the Saints were written by pious monks, not from old documents, but rather from foolish tales or phantasies. Others are too cautious and reject everything, not daring to take a stand on any issue lest they make a mistake. Both groups are hostile to truth and must be fought not with words but with deeds. Thus there are no lives in the Acta Sanctorum of Bollandus which are not based on certain authority, none which have

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1. Ibid., p.xxxv: "Acta sunt alia, non ita quidem ex incertis populi narrationibus conserte, sed docte ac graviter olim conscripta; verum deinde adulterata...Fecerunt... id homines nefarii...ut vel erroribus suis atque improbitati patrocinium quaererent,...vel ut eorum obscurarent laudem a quibus sectam esse suam impugnatum constaret. Faciunt id...haeretici...nam illustres Sanctos...suos fuisse clamitant; eduntque in vulgus acta eorum, sed detractis iis quae illorum possent prode puram ac Catholicam religionem...Ea res facit ut vetera mss. sedulo conquiremus, quo ex plurimum collatione facilius, si qua fraus est facta, queat deprehendi. Quaeres, si consentiant exemplaria, an securi sumus ab omni fraude futuri? Non continuo...Quid dolo adiectum sit, facile erit ex aliis Scriptoribus demonstrare, qui vel de praestantibus illis viris contraria tradunt, vel semper Catholicos habitos esse ostendunt."



been vitiated by heretics. There are several written by eyewitnesses and those informed by eyewitnesses. It was necessary to include also some that had been written from oral tradition since better were not available. These some would reject. If they contain anything opposed to faith, or if they are at variance with several historians, then these critics are right in refusing to accept them. But if they have been written by good men, and if they have not been rejected by the learned, then we accept them, Bollandus says, despite their objections.¹

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1. Ibid., p. xxxvi: "Sed multorum animis ea insita est opinio plerasque vitas Sanctorum inertī seculo a monachis, piis ...et bonis, et simplicibus hominibus, sed ignaris fere litterarum esse conscriptas, non ex certorum monumentorum fide, sed vel ex futilibus narratiunculis, vel ex propria quadam phantasia...Alii dum nimis cauti esse volunt, neque uspiam secure audent insistere, ne labantur; nihil satis firmum putant, ac temere multa respuunt, dum ne explorare quidem cuiusmodi ea sint, volunt. Utrorumque inimica veritati ratio est. Utrisque occurrendum non tam verbis quam rebus ipsis. Dico igitur, primum nullas esse hoc in opere vitas quas...commentitias possit quis...suspiciari, aliquo semper attestante Martyrologio certave auctoritate. Dein nullas esse, quas probabile sit ulla ex parte ab haereticis...vitiatas. Ceteris ex generibus sunt complures...Sunt multae ab oculatis testibus scriptae...Multae ab iis quibus oculati testes, vel ii, qui hauserant ab oculatis testibus narraverunt...multae ex authenticis scriptis compositae; aliquae ex fama, plures contractae, vel interpolatae...Hoc genus latissime patet, atque cum praecedente, accurate ut examinentur quae eiusmodi sunt, postulat. Alii...duo illa postrema genera impugnant...nullas edi volunt, nisi limatas iudicio, atque...veritate firmatas...Esset sane optandum, ut Sancti omnes, qualem hi postulant, nacti essent suarum virtutum praeconem. Merito quidem si quid inest, quod fidei orthodoxae, aut rectae morum disciplinae adversetur. Id enim ferendum non est...Imo potius quia a bonis ...hominibus, ...quia numquam...relecta...a gravissimis theologis; ea fateamur verisimilia censi debere, ac suscipi pleraque legique utiliter posse."

Thus concludes Bollandus' very clear exposition of the general principles which were to guide him in the selection of materials for the Acta Sanctorum. He feels, however, that he should mention some mss. which were of particular assistance to him. One of these was, he says, a martyrology, supposedly that of St. Jerome, found by Rosweyde in Treves and "vetustissimo caractere exaratum".¹ When Rosweyde had edited it, many praised it as a monument of antiquity. Bollandus, however, does not know whether it is really so since the only evidence in its favor is the inscription "Codex S. Willibrordi continet Martyrologium Hieronymi" together with the fact that Usuard had mentioned a martyrology of Jerome. This is the eighth century ms. in insular script used by Papebroch in his "Propylaeum" to prove the falsity of the Horreense diploma.² That Bollandus should term the script merely "vetustissimo caractere" and omit giving it the designation "saxonica", which was quite common in his time, is very strange.

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1. Ibid., p. xlv: "Reperit illud tandem in Carthusia Trevirensi Heribertus Rosweyde noster, vetustissimo caractere exaratum, statuitque in lucem emittere. Alii viri eruditi vehementer id laudarunt, ut praeclarum sacrae antiquitatis monumentum. Eius Martyrologii hic titulus est: "Christe fave votis. Codex S. Willibrordi continet Martyrologium Hieronymi"... Nullum tamen certum argumentum suppetit, quo id ab S. Hieronymo esse compositum confirmem, praeter... libri inscriptionem, et quod in illud apte quadrate videantur quae ~~sunt~~ a Usuardo in sui Martyrologii praefatione scripta: "Praeterea et venerabilium Hieronymi... ac Bedae... super hoc provocabar descriptis"."
 2. Cf. infra, 250 sq.

However, that Bollandus is aware of differences in script may be seen from his remark concerning a ms. of a martyrology which bore the name of Bede, but, he says, this inscription was added "ab recentiore manu".¹ Another ms. of a martyrology, lacking the name of an author, but which he feels was compiled by Hrabanus Maurus, was of an age "500 circiter...annorum".² He does not indicate, however, the basis for his dating.

After discussing these special mss., Bollandus takes the opportunity to thank those who have assisted him either indirectly or directly in his work. Most important of those in the former group was Anthony Winghe, Rosweyde's friend, who had helped him financially and otherwise, and who brought it about that in 1635, six years after he first started on the Acta Sanctorum, an assistant was given to him in the person of Godefrid Henschen.³

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1. Ibid., p.xlix: "At Ms. Antwerpiense, sive potius, ut suspicor, Anglicanum, Bedae nomine, sed ab recentiore manu, praetitulatum,..."
 2. Ibid., p.li: "Ei simile habeo exemplar e codice monasterii S.Maximini Treveris, qui 500 circiter esse annorum, acceptum, sed nullius nomine auctoris inscriptum, Rabano cur illud abiudicem, nullum me magnopere argumentum movet, nisi quod eius antiqui non meminerint."
 3. Cf. supra, p.98, n.1 and Acta SS.Jan., T.I, Ch.IV, p.xli.

Born in 1600 in Venray and manifesting at an early age a taste for learning, Henschen¹ was sent to learn Poetry and Rhetoric at a Jesuit College where he numbered among his teachers Bollandus. Entering the Society in 1619 he studied Philosophy for two years and at the completion of his classical studies was assigned to teach Greek, a language at which he showed great proficiency. He was already ordained and was approaching the end of his course in Theology when his superiors, acceding to a request of Bollandus for an assistant in the Acta Sanctorum, chose before all others Henschen, who was endowed with a great knowledge of both Greek and Latin, and who was "ad libros quasi a natura² factus". Arriving at Antwerp, he was ordered by Bollandus to begin work on the volume for February while he himself put the finishing touches on January. Treating first the lives of SS. Amandus and Vedastus, he wrote full commentaries and illustrated obscure passages with copious, painstaking notes. Bollandus had contemplated nothing so grand as this but had been content to include the original texts with a brief introduction concerning the Feasts, Relics and Authors of the Vitae and indicating at the end the mss. used and the variant readings. Henschen's method on the

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1. Acta SS., Mail, T.VII, "Praefatio Editoris Danielis Papebrochii De Vita, operibus et virtutibus P.C. Henschenii", Antwerp, 1688.
 2. Ibid., p.ii, C.II,7.

other hand had considered history, chronology, topography, sources and literary parallelisms. When Bollandus had seen the manner in which Henschen had begun to dissolve difficult chronological and historical problems, the teacher did not hesitate to imitate the pupil and follow the same method, and thus ordering the press to be stopped (four days of January had already been printed), he requested Henschen to discontinue his work on February and apply himself to a revision of January according to his (Henschen's) standards.¹ Thus the form in which the Acta Sanctorum now appear must be credited to Henschen. However, so modest was he that when Bollandus had decided that it would be more convenient

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1. Ibid., C.II, 7, p.iii: "Veniens Antwerpiam et jussus a Bollando Februariam exordiri, interim dum ipse quem coeperat absolveret Januarium; non primum elegit faciliora quaedam Sanctorum Acta, levi manu apparanda ad praelum: sed in SS.Amandum atque Vedastum, Conjecit uoculos: in iisque sui ipsius facturum experimentum, coepit amplius illos Commentarios moliri,...Annotationibusque copiosis et operosis quaecumque loca obscuriora illustravit.

Nihil tam grande eatenus cogitaverat Bollandus: sed cuique Vitae contentus praemittere Martyrologiorum veterum verba, de eo qui tractandus veniebat, perquam modico Commentariolo de Festis, Reliquiis, Actorum scriptoribus aucta; adjecerat ad calcem Annotata quaedam brevissima, nec quidquam fere nisi variantes plurimum codicum lectiones repraesentantia, nulla initio, deinde nimis crebra facta Capitum divisione...Ast ubi vidit, qua ratione coepisset Henschenius gravissimas quasque chronologicarum quaestionum difficultates, ad Sanctorum historiam spectantes, enodare...non dubitavit Discipulum imitari Magister, et eandem methodum etiam ipse sequi...nonnullam cessationem indixit praelo, donec digestam melius materiam haberet; et Henschenium voluit, dimisso Febuario, ad Januarium recognoscendum ampliusque illustrandum accedere sibi."

for future correspondents if their initials were assigned to their separate works, Henschen disagreed, insisting that he did not wish his name made known, and repeatedly saying that it was sufficient for him if the saints to whom he had dedicated his work would approve of it. Bollandus, however, had his way, and in those early volumes of the Acta Sanctorum, the initials J.B. and G.H. distinguished¹ the work of the two scholars.

In 1643, eight years after Henschen had joined Bollandus and thirteen years after Bollandus had first started work on it, there came forth two large volumes embracing the lives of the saints whose feasts occurred in January.² Praise and acclamation hailed its arrival. The Pope,

1. Ibid., C.II, 10, p.iii: "...tunc scilicet optare coepit Bollandus, cum vidit ad se unum omnium undecumque confluere epistolas, etiam propter ea, quae, non ipse, sed Socius scripserat. Ergo ne idem sibi eveniret causa Februarii, atque ut volentes percunctari quidquam de Sanctorum eo contentorum aliquo, scirent uter de duobus appellandus sibi esset, suos Sociique labores instituit litteris ejusmodi distinguere...Tanta enim erat P.Godefridi modestia ut nomen quoque suum praefigi libris communibus nolle, satis sibi esse dictitans, si Sanctis probaret, quem consecraverat iis laborem suum. Sed cum id non probaretur Bollando, eatenus dumtaxat permisit nomen suum in fronte Januarii legi, ut iste Acta SS. collegisse, digessisse, notis illustrasse diceretur; ipse solum operam ac studium contulisse."
2. Acta SS.Martii, T.I, "Tract. Prae. de Vita, Operibus et Virtutibus Ioannis Bollandi", c.IX, p.xiv sq.

Alexander VII¹, wrote a letter to Bollandus in which he expressed his amazement at the amount of erudition and

1. Pope Alexander VII, whose pontificate extended from 1656 to 1667 (cf. The History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages, by Ludwig F. Von Pastor, translated by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B., Vol. XXXI, St. Louis, 1940, pp. 1-313; History of the Popes by Leopold Von Ranke, translated by E. Foster, London, 1896, Vol. II, pp. 330 sqq.) was a member of the powerful Chigi family of Italy. An ardent student, he devoted his afternoons to literature, when authors would present themselves before him to read their latest compositions and receive his suggestions for improvement. During his pontificate, and often under his aegis, libraries, private, ecclesiastical and monastic sprung up in great abundance throughout Italy. A friend of Bollandus, it is to him that Bollandus and Henschen dedicated the first volume of February of the Acta SS. with the following encomium:

...Cui potius Februarium, quam Fabio Chisio inscriberemus? Antistitem esse praeditum eximia religione, ut Sanctorum res gestas libenter lecturus sit, cum curae publicae patientur; in-signi eruditione, ut aestimaturus operam, qua collectum hoc consertumque opus; summa facilitate atque humanitate ut minime aspernaturus eiusmodi sibi oblatum munus; tenue licet, si artificium spectetur; si materia, pretii ingentis. Ac ne diu incerti nutaremus, ipse, huius adhuc nostrae deliberationis ignarus, ultro nos illustri illa tua benevolentia complexus es, litteris et benefactis frequentibus testata.

Among the many kindnesses of Alexander to the Bollandists was the following as recorded in the preface above quoted. At the end of the sixteenth century there were found in the caves of Mt. Illipulitan near Granada certain writings and other 'monumenta' and bones, which the Spaniards said were St. Caecilius', the authenticity of which was doubted by Bollandus and Henschen. When Spanish writers of great prestige respected these remains and when furthermore the Archbishop of Granada had a basilica constructed in the place in which they had been found, the two haglographers were in a dilemma. Various solid reasons (they fail to indicate what they were) did not permit them to agree to their genuineness. It would be considered rash to refute so great a retinue of writers. Where could we turn, they ask. To omit that saint whom the Spaniards had venerated and whom they called a disciple of the Apostle James was 'haudquaquam fas'. But from this difficulty they were

diligence manifest in the two volumes:¹

Opus multorum votis expetitur hactenus, nec nisi multis vigiliis ac sudoribus elaboratum, laetus accepi, vidi, pervolvi. Quid dicam amplius? obstipui. Nimirum vastum mole, nec minus accuratum industria, resplendens ubique eruditione rara, doctrina multiplici, quem non in sui admirationem rapiat?

(Note 1 cont'd) rescued by Fabius Chigi. A decree was passed by the Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition with the approval of Urban VIII in accordance with which decree the reading of these writings and of those books edited in their defense was forbidden to all.

Reperta erant sub finem seculi superioris in cavernis montis Illipulitani prope Granatam scripta quaedam et alia vetera monumenta, ossaque etiam (ut ferebatur) S.Caecilii. Minime quidem illa nobis, ut a variis descripta per manus etiam nostratum hominum iactabantur, probata; verum a plurimis gravissimis scriptoribus Hispanis ita celebrantur, ut obruendi eorum consensione atque auctoritate videremur; praesertim cum Archiepiscopus Granatensis eo loco, ubi haec erant fefossa, basilicam aedificasse. Quid ageremus? Assentiri variae nos et (ut quidem censebamus) solidae rationes non sinebant: tantae turbae scriptorum repugnare, temerarium existimari poterat. Quo nos igitur verteremus? Praeterire eum Sanctum, haudquaquam fas erat, quem Hispani, etiam ante ea Hispana inventa, publicis sacris essent venerati, sanctique Apostoli Iacobi discipulum praedicarent; nos ipsi a SS.Petro ac Paulo Apostolis Romae Episcopum consecratum, missumque in Hispaniam minime ambigeremus. Hoc e scopulo, Fabio Chigio duce, sumus erepti! Latum erat a Congregatione Sanctae Romanae et universalis Inquisitionis, Urbano VIII praesente et approbante, Decretum de hisce Ispanis et scriptis, quo variarum commentationum ad eorum defensionem ac commendationem editarum lectione omnibus interdicebatur.

1. Acta SS.Martii, T.I, "Tract.Prae. de Vita...Bollandi", c.IX, p.xv.

Bollandus and Henschen, however, merely set about preparing the volumes for February which, delayed by the illness of Bollandus, appeared in 1655. It was in this year that the two priests had been relieved of Confessional duties so that they would be able to devote more of their time to the Acta Sanctorum, and as a result the Acta of March moved more swiftly.

Bollandus had received an invitation from Pope Alexander to come to Rome to examine the mss. in the Vatican and other libraries in the vicinity. He, occupied then in the preparation of the first volume of the Acta, begged off because of this and failing health, but he asked that he be permitted to send in his stead Henschen together with a new collaborator on the Acta, Daniel Papebroch.² Permission was granted by his superior in a letter of March 27, 1655, stating:³ "concessum facultatem libenter transfero in communium studiorum Socium P. Godefridum Henschenium

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1. Acta SS. Maii, T. VII, "Praef... de Vita... Henschenii", Ch. III, 15, p. v.
 2. Acta SS. Martii, T. I, "tract. Prael. de Vita... Bollandi", Ch. XIII, p. xxiii: "Haec cum ita se haberent, mirum non est quod tam ipse Sanctissimus Dominus noster, quam Eminentissimorum Cardinalium aliorumque Curiae Romanae Praelatorum aliqui iudicaverint Bollandum Romam invitandum, ut operi suo profutura monumenta ex Vaticana aliisque Bibliothecis erueret, quae multa istis in codicibus MSS latere, coniectura haud vana ominabantur. ... Sed distulit initio P. Bollandus, imprimendo Januario occupatus; ac postea variis ex causis excusavit omnino... Rogavit ut sibi concessa facultas in suorum studiorum consortem transferretur, eique adiungeretur, quem iudicabit idoneum, itineris comes."
 3. Ibid., p. xxiv.

...Per me etiam licet, ut cum illo veniat P.Daniel Papebrochius. Voluntatem meam ex me intelliget P.Provincialis."

The necessity of an additional collaborator was realized by Bollandus and Henschen both of whom were aging and in ill health, and the choice fell upon Papebroch for no other reason, as he himself modestly asserts, than that he from youth had been rather inclined to reading and writing.¹ The fact is, that Bollandus, a friend of long standing to both Papebroch and his family, had for many years cherished the hope that Papebroch would one day succeed him in the Acta Sanctorum.²

However, the fact that Bollandus himself could not make the trip to Rome did not dampen his ardor or interest in the proposed journey, for he immediately set about preparing a complete index³ of all the mss. then in their possession with this end in view, that there would be a lasting

1. Acta SS.Maii, T.VII, "Praef....de Vita...Henschenii", Ch. III, 15, p.v: "...et tertius etiam Socius impetrari, eo titulo, quod Bollandum quidem longinquo itinere minus habilem fecerant aetas et morbi; Henschenio autem...obituro conveniret addi aliquem, qui postea redux, iisdem applicaretur studiis, cum spe continuandae per alios, usque ad operis finem, successionis. Et haec fors mihi obtigit, alio nullo meo merito, quam quod ad multa legenda scribendaque propensior ab adolescentia fuisset."
2. Cf. infra, p.224.
3. Acta SS.Martii, T.I, "Tract. Prael. de Vita...Bollandi", Ch.XIII, p.xxiv: "Bollandi sociis prima cura fuit, cum magistri auxilio, consilio, directioneque conficere accuratissimum indicem actorum omnium, quae vel in MSS codicibus schedisve, vel in libris excusis, Musaeum Bollandianum tunc continebat, eo fine ut directorium esset perpetuum ad quaevis monumenta dignoscenda, discernendaque ea, quibus descriptis opus foret ab aliis quibus non egebant."

directory by which they might determine and separate those documents which had to be copied from those which they did not need.

Leaving Antwerp July 22, 1660, they made many stops on their journey to Rome, principally at places where they anticipated finding mss. of the lives of the saints. As soon as they arrived at Rome, the news spread far and wide throughout the city, and because of the interest of Pope Alexander VII in their work libraries opened their doors¹ and made generous offerings of their mss. For prior to their arrival the Pope had instructed Holstenius, the Vatican librarian, to see to it that the rules which almost chained books to their library shelves should be abrogated in favor of Bollandus' delegates not only in the Vatican library but also in the other libraries of the city of Rome. Holstenius was also directed that permission be granted them to examine and transcribe whatever mss. they indicated as necessary for their work. All these mandates were willingly² undertaken and executed by Holstenius, who, closely

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1. Ibid., Ch.XV, p.xxvi et sq.: "Ut socios Bollandi venisse Romam ad colligenda Sanctorum Acta, vulgavit fama; post primos salutationum ac visitationum reciprocarum aestus; non ab iis tantum, quos vel ex litteris suis vel scriptis noverant, sed etiam a pluribus eatenus ignotis contenti sunt, suos vel alienos codices MSS ac bibliothecas offerentibus."
 2. Cf. infra, pp. 343 & 347. Holstenius' friendship for the Jesuits stemmed partly from the fact that he had been converted through the instruction of one of the most illustrious of their members, Sirmond.

united by bonds of love and friendship to Bollandus, was so helpful to them that in him Henschen and Papebroch had placed from the beginning great hope of gathering material.¹ Through his influence ready access was given them to all hagiographical mss. reposing in the libraries of Italy. But death claimed him, and science suffered a severe blow, for without Holstenius as their intermediary Henschen and Papebroch had great difficulty in gaining entrance to some of the libraries. This is particularly evident from a letter sent by Henschen to Bollandus, which says: "Quot menses Romae frustra per plateas exeundo et redeundo impendimus quaerentes accessum ad bibliothecas!"²

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1. "Vita Bollandi", p.xxvii: "...nulli magis est acceptum referendum quam primo Christiani Orbis Capiti, cuius exemplum ceteros animavit excitavitque...Per Illustrissimum Ferdinandum Furstenbergium...scribendum curavit, expectatissimum sibi fore eorum adventum, quibus ad promovenda coepta omnem esset opem favoremque impensurus. Neque sane minus quam promiserat fecit: statim enim Illustrissimo Vaticanæ Bibliothecæ Custodi Lucae Holstenio...in mandatis dedit, ut sublata cuiusvis excommunicationis interminatione, qua fere adstricti pulpitis suis Romae detinentur libri, non modo Vaticanos omnes codices MSS qui de Sanctis agerent; sed cetera omnia totius almae Urbis MSS venturis P.Bollandi Sociis sciret esse permessa; ipsique curandum, ut ea inspicere omnia, et commode cum vellent, transcribere possent. Amabat pridem Bollandum Holstenius...itaque mandatum Sanctissimi tanta exceptit promptitudine...ut in eo homine magnam Socii ab initio spem reponerent eximii fructus non admodum magno labore ac tempore colligendi."
 2. Bibl. Royale de Bruxelles, ms.17671-72, fol.73, quoted by Delehay, op.cit., p.67. Letter of December 3, 1661.

However, the search for materials continued, and whenever they laid hands on new mss., Papebroch, the new recruit, worked with such diligence that Henschen wrote to Bollandus saying: "Le P.Daniel (Papebroch) est infatigable et sa diligence me stimule. Il craint de perdre un quart¹ d'heure."

Holstenius was succeeded in the library by Leo Allatius who seemed to delight in creating vexations for the two Bollandists. Even Bollandus had seemed to have a presentiment of the difficulties his confreres would have upon the death of Holstenius, for on September 5, 1660 he wrote² as follows to Nicholas Heinsius:

Obtinui igitur ab admodum reverendo patre Generali nostro, ut P.Henschenio cum alio comite venire illuc liceret. Idque eo celerius fieri volui, quod D.Lucae Holstenii saepius iam gravi morbo tentata valetudo sit, cuius tamen favore, cum licet, utendum, ne quis ei submorsus ac difficilis in praefecturam bibliothecae Vaticanae succedat.

Bollandus' suspicions were confirmed, for Allatius refused to give them the books and mss. they required, and though bound by the same instructions as Holstenius, i.e., to make available to Henschen and Papebroch Greek and Latin mss. concerning the lives of the saints, he refused to

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1. Letter of June 17, 1661, idem ms., fol.49^v, quoted by Delehay, op.cit., p.68.
 2. P.Burman, Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum, t.II, p.785, quoted by Delehay, op.cit., p.70, n.1.

allow them to use the Greek Synaxaries under the ridiculous pretext that they contained only the abridged lives.¹ He also forbade them to transcribe the small book of Arca on the saints of Sardinia on the grounds that it was a printed book and the Pope's directive indicated only mss. "Ita subinde sunt homines", wrote Papebroch, "ineptae religiosi interpretes mandatorum alienorum".¹ Henschen also wrote to Bollandus on the matter, stating: "Quanta fastidia devoranda et adhuc silendum quia magis nocere potest."² From time to time they had to trouble the Pope and send him a request to reason with his new librarian. Allatius finally, lest he displease the pontiff, relented and went so far as to furnish them with several documents which he himself had translated from Greek to Latin. And thus ended one unhappy episode in the lives of Henschen and Papebroch.

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1. Acta SS. Jun., T. III, p. 808: "Sed qui tunc ei praeerat Allatius praenominatus mandatumque habebat nobis exhibere omnes de Vitis Sanctorum libros Graecos Latinosque, religioni sibi duxit exhibere etiam eos, qui illas integras non habebant; sicut recusavit describendum permittere libellum Arcae de Vitis Sanctorum Sardiniae, quod libellus iste esset impressus, Pontificis autem mandatum manuscriptos designabat. Ita subinde sunt homines ineptae religiosi interpretes mandatorum alienorum. Non ideo tamen minus laudandus idem semper erit, tum propter obsequium in aliis collatum, tum propter plures eruditionis reconditae libros ab eo editos."
 2. Letter of December 3, 1661, ms. previously cited, f. 74, quoted by Delehaye, op. cit., p. 71, n. 2.

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Finally after twenty nine months,¹ during which they wrote one hundred and forty letters to Bollandus, the two pilgrims returned to Antwerp on December 21, 1662 where they found that Bollandus, who had spent most of that time directing from afar their search for material, had not advanced the volumes for March one step beyond that which it had reached when they had started on their trip. To Bollandus, who died soon after at the age of sixty nine (September 12, 1665), the great harvest of seven hundred mss. collected during the trip compensated for the delay, but Henschen could not tolerate it, and thus to make up for lost time he went to work with such diligence and pertinacity that within six years after his return from Rome, he, aided by Papebroch, edited in 1668 the three excellent volumes of March. However, such pressure and strain took

1. Acta SS. Maii, T. VII, "Praefatio...de Vita...Henschenii", Ch. III, 16, p.v: "Totos viginti novem menses ea Henschenii peregrinatio tenuit, Antverpiae interim morante Bollandus, nosque suggerendis consiliis adjuvante et curante negotio hinc obvenientia, tam densa multaque, ut in iisdem S. Sulpicii Actis, in quibus eum demiseramus abeuntes, occupatum adhuc invenerimus reduces; nec Martium gradu uno promotum ultra quam fuerat anno MDCLIX mense Julio, quando nos in viam dederamus...nos occupavit copiosissima messis per Italiam...Galliamque collecta, abunde compensans moram."

their toll, and Henschen became seriously ill. The doctors having prescribed a change of air and rest for the ailing scholar, a new expedition was taken, this time to the Moselle, with the intention in mind of bringing to light whatever mss. pertinent to their interests lie hidden in the archives and corners of the oldest monasteries and libraries. While travelling, Henschen, having fallen from his horse, suffered an injury which at first seemed slight but which later threatened to become gangrenous with the result that they were forced to delay a month at Luxemburg, during which time Papebroch conceived the idea of writing about "Res Diplomatica", a subject which, he said, had been untouched up to that time. Handled insufficiently by him, as Papebroch himself admits, it was later

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1. Ibid., "Huic parum deinceps commodare Bollandus potuit... sed pertinax Henschenii diligentia, tenui meo tironis discipuli adjuta conatu, intra sextum ab itinere Romano annum tres Tomos absolvit; quos, si cum prioribus quinque componas, vix credas potuisse annis quindenis elaborari, tanto istis operosiora omnia instructioraque apparent/
...ex tanta...talique contentione studiorum gravem aegritudinem contraxit P.Godefridus, quae...dimidio deinde anno adeo languidum habuit, ut nulli graviori occupationi posset intendere...Aeris mutatione aliqua...cessatione a studiis, egere, Medici sentiebant. Nova ergo ad Mosanos Mosellanosque tractus expeditio...suscipitur; e-ductura in lucem, quicquid ibidem in vetustissimorum monasteriorum archivis, angulisve bibliothecarum uspiam latens, nostramque rem spectans."

explained by the very handsome work of Mabillon, De Re Dip-
¹
lomatica.

Returning to Antwerp in November of 1668, Henschen suffered a severe attack of pleurisy from which he recovered although then sixty nine years of age.² The work on the Acta continued, however, amid difficulties, and in 1675 came forth the three volumes for April. In 1677, despite the illness now of Papebroch, Henschen aided by a new assistant, Daniel Cardonus, who gave great promise,³ sent to the printer the first volumes of May. Such a mass of material had accumulated for that month that six volumes were needed, three of which were published in 1680 at the request of Henschen who, having labored so hard on it, asked that he be permitted to gaze before his death⁴ upon the printed edition. In October of that year he suffered an attack of paralysis which confined him to his bed but which did not deter him from his work. For although

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1. Ibid., 17, p.vi: "Luxemburgim perveneramus, integrum istic mensem sumus coacti subsistere; quod ego tempus insumpsi evolvendis, quos R.P.Alexander Wilthemius apparaverat praelo, San-Maximinianis Annalibus et Luxemburgensibus Antiquitatibus; unde, occasio mihi nata concipiendi aliquid de re Diplomatica, argumentum intactum eatenus, et a me quidem impari conatu tentatum ante Aprilem, a Mabillione autem justo pulcherrimoque opere explicatum."
 2. Ibid., 20, p.vii.
 3. Ibid., Ch.V, 26, p.ix. Cardonus died soon after in an epidemic which beset the city of Antwerp.
 4. Ibid., 27, p.ix.

now eighty years of age and having already dedicated forty five years of his life to the Acta Sanctorum, he insisted¹ on working in bed. Moreover, solicitous for the future of the Acta, he kept asking his Superior for an assistant who would relieve Papebroch of some of the work. He being provided in the person of Francis Baert, Henschen then with Simeon began to say, "Nunc dimittis servum Tuum, Domine", and in September 11, 1681 he joined the vast body of the elect of heaven whose lives and deeds he had so accurately and ably edited.²

A man of remarkable gifts of mind and body, he was often termed by Bollandus a man of iron, who even in the severest winter could work for five or six hours without the comfort of a fire. Exceptionally kind to those who would visit the Bollandist library, he never, even after thirty or forty years, failed to show his gratitude toward anyone who had assisted him in any way during his Iter Romanum.³ A laborious and tireless worker, he gave forty six

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1. Ibid., 30, p.x. "...coepi opportunis horis apud eum relegere, quae praelo paraveram necdum ipsi visa; quaedam etiam coram eo parare, aut ipso dictante ex originalibus membranis describere...Adventante vere...senex potuit...ad mensam scriptoriam transferri, ubi exorsus est iterum recognoscere omnia quae in Maji restabant imprimenda; et siquid praeteritum videretur aut dubii explicatum, notare diligenter."
 2. Ibid., 34, p.xi: "...cum etiam Lovanio adductum vidisset Henschenius, qui sibi promissus erat, P.Franciscum Baertium, et mores indolemque probasset: coepit cum Symeone dicere: Nunc dimittis servum Tuum, Domine, in pace quia viderunt oculi mei successuros post me."
 3. Ibid., Ch.VII, pp.xii-xv.

years of his life to the Acta Sanctorum, during which time he assisted in the preparation of twenty four volumes, fourteen of which appeared during his lifetime. Becoming at the death of Bollandus not the chief but the oldest of the group of survivors, he contributed more than anyone else to create the spirit and the traditions with which this work has been able to continue down through the centuries.¹

This spirit has always been one of truth. Not one of these early volumes of the Acta appears without a request from its Editors for the reader to point out any error that may have been made in that volume, for as is repeated time and time again, they want to write nothing which is contrary to truth and to the law of the Church. Thus in Volume II of the Acta Januarii Bollandus writes:

Si quid scripsi, quod cum certioribus quae habes monumentis non consentiat, non solum ignoscas velim, sed et moneas viamque commonstres. Libens retractabo. Esse me hominem scio et labi posse, in tanto praesertim opere, et in rebus ita procul a finibus nostris atque aetate gestis.²

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1. Peeters, op.cit., p.26: "Devenu, à la mort de Bolland, non pas le chef mais l'ancien" du petit groupe des survivants, il contribua plus et mieux que personne à y créer l'esprit et les traditions grâce auxquels le travail put se continuer pendant un siècle."
 2. Acta SS.Jan., T.II (1643).

And in the preface to Vol.I of February he repeats what he has already said in the preface to Vol.I of January and insists upon his plan to edit not one life of each saint but several, and these as they appear in the mss., with no interpolations. Lives and Miracles of certain Irish saints, he will not insert because, he says, he has found reference to them only in the writings of the Irish. If, however, mention was made of them in other lives commonly known and not suspect, he will include them in the ¹
Acta Sanctorum. The Spanish Chronicles of Dexter, Maximus, Luitprand and Julian are also suspected by Bollandus and thus not used by him. For Dexter, a learned man, who read Cicero assiduously, he says, would not have written such things nor would he have expressed himself in such a poor style. Nor would Maximus, praised by Isidore,

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1. Acta SS.Feb., T.I. (1658), p.xv: "Edite, inquires, unam; ex altera, quod deest supplete. Quo id modo? An ut in unius narrationem ex altera verba aliquot aut integras periodos intrudamus, atque ita novam quamdam Vitam, una sic interpolata, procudamus? Alienissimum id ab nostro instituto, et doctorum hominum expectatione, qui genuina volunt veterum scripta...Sunt quidem a Joanne Colgano...edi promiscue coepta Sanctorum Hibernorum, etiam qui fere sola in patria noti sunt, Acta, labore immenso: ...Transcribimus ex eo opere in nostrum quandoque vitas aliquas, sed eorum dumtaxat Sanctorum, quorum in aliis Vitis vulgo notis, minimeque suspectae fidei, mentio fit...Eo autem sollicitius ab iis calamum abstinemus, quod fere fortassis olim acciderunt ob sinceram pussimae gentis simplicitatem; tamen ita imperite nonnumquam congesta sunt, omissis iis quae ad virtutum officia spectabant, ut risum potius movere lectoribus queant, quam Sanctos illos venerandi imitandique affectum."

have raved on in such a manner. Bollandus quoted from Luitprand himself to prove that he was not in Spain in the year 946 at which time he was said to have flourished under Bishop Bonitus. And, Bollandus continues, if anyone should prove that this chronicle was written by Julian, it will have to be concluded that Julian was an inferior writer, who wrote things not befitting a serious man and a Pope.¹

The preface to Volume II of February again repudiates and condemns anything which may have been included in former volumes which is not in harmony with the sacrosanct

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1. *Ibid.*, p.xviii sq. "Neque sane Dexter, ea praesertim aetate; qua Symmachus V.Pr. S.Ambrosius Ep. Aurelius Prudentius v.cl. atque alii eloquentia et styli venustate prae-stabant, scribere aggressus temere esset...Iam Chronici illius quam parum culta dictio! quam non respondet tanti auctoris dignitati! quam sapit frequentem lectionem Ciceronis...De Maximo ista S.Isidorus Hispalensis, eius aequalis, libros de scriptoribus cap.33 habet: "Maximus Caesaraugustunae civitatis Episcopus, multa versu prosaque componere dicitur, scripsit et brevi stylo historiam de iis quae temporibus Gothorum in Hispaniis acta sunt historice et composito sermone." Sed quod nuper editum est Maximi Chronicon Dextri Chronico superstructum, nihilo maioris est firmitatis...Multa, ut in Dextro, vana ac falsa...Hugo Menardus...asserit, "hoc Chronicon multa continere absurda, et S.Maximo prorsus indigna"...Haec a nobis idcirco allata sunt, ut ostenderemus Luitprandum in Hispania anno CMXLVI et sequenti non videri fuisse, quo tamen tempore asseritur Toleti sub Bonito Episcopo floruisse...Alioquin si quis probet scriptum a Iuliano; imperitum sane scriptorem fuisse Iulianum illum dicemus, qui multa operi suo infarserit inepta...An id passim et ubique agere gravissimum virum, ac Pontificem Maximum decebat?"

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constitutions of the Church. In the third volume of February he repeats a request for any ms. which the reader may know about or have in his possession so that its contents may be shared by the world. In addition he would like the reader to lend him any old martyrology, for, he says, contained in them may be the names of saints unknown to him, and moreover, to see a saint mentioned in more than one place lends strength to what has already been written.²

An interesting palaeographical reference to the ms. of the Martyrology of Bede also appears in one of the prefaces. Among the ms. collection of Queen Christina they had found a fragment of a Martyrology extending from August 22 to the end of the year, written, they say, in Gaul

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1. Acta SS.Feb., T.II, (1658): "Quaecumque in hoc opere eduntur a nobis, ea nolumus aliam obtinere vim ac momentum quam quod Humanae Historiae inest: nisi si qua sunt e Divina Scriptura, Decretalibus Pontificum epistolis, Bullisque Canonizationum, aut scitis Oecumenicorum Conciliorum sumpta. In ceteris siquid imprudenter offendimus (homines enim sumus, errori obnoxii) ubi a peritioribus monebimur, libenter corrigemus. Nam si (quod non remur) aliquid scriptum hic esset, quod cum sacrosanctis Ecclesiae Constitutionibus minus concordaret, id nos ultro repudiamus ac damnamus."
 2. Acta SS.Feb., T.III, (1658), p.xvi: "Neque ista solum de Sanctorum gestis monumenta avide conquirimus, sed vetera quoque martyrologia, in quibus saepe Sanctorum multa adscripta nomina, alibi ignotorum. Est enim nobis profecto periucundum, si cum in vetustis, quae habemus Martyrologiis multa eiusmodi nomina Sanctorum recenseantur, ea alibi quoque reperiri intelligamus, ut tanto maius robur auctoritatemque obtineant, quae de iis in lucem damus."

about eight hundred years ago as was evident not only from the "characteris ipsius forma", but also because inscribed in it were the words "Bituricas dedicatio ecclesiae S. Sulpitii Confessoris", which gives indubitable proof of the church for which the martyrology was written. Evidence that it was the Martyrology of Bede was furnished by the customary formula found in ancient mss., i.e., "Explicit Martyrologium Bedae Presbyteri". Having thus found this latter part of the Martyrology, they began a search for the first section. Nor were they deceived in their hope, for having located a complete martyrology, "antiqua manu" and bearing the inscription "Incipit martyrologium Bedae Presbyteri feliciter", they noticed that some words were written in majuscules, while others were minuscule. Comparing those letters with those found in the fragment of Queen Christina's ms., they saw that the script and content of her ms. agreed "iisdem prorsus verbis, et apice vix ullo mutato" with what was written in the complete Martyrology. But what was written in minuscules in the complete ms. was lacking to the fragment. Whence, the Bollandists conclude, by observing this distinction, it was possible to determine what was written by Bede and what was the work of a later author.

Invenimus...tandem speratum thesaurum, dum...Reginae Sueciae Christinae Codices MSS...scrutamur...Ecce Martyrologii cuiusdam fragmentum, a die XI Kal. Septembris usque ad anni finem sese oculis exhibuit, tale prorsus quale semper quaesiveramus, vacuis magna parte diebus, ante annos plusquam octingentos descriptum

in Gallia: prout manifestum faciebat, tum characteris ipsius forma, tum quidam in Gallia celebres Sancti et translationum dies locis circiter sedecim adscripti, antiqua quidem, sed multum diversa manu; tum denique prima in pagina ad diem VI Kalendas Septembris lecta 'Bituricas dedicatio ecclesiae S. Sulpitii Confessoris': eiusmodi enim dedicationum memoria annue recolenda, praesertim unica, alicui Martyrologio adnotata, indubitatum facit indicium eius ecclesiae, ad cuius usum ipsum descriptum est. Porro quo certius crederemus esse quod inveneramus, obsignabantur omnia consueta illa antiquis formula; "Explicit Martyrologium Bedae Presbyteri"..... Nec vero ea nos spes fefellit: ...enim in Burgundia appulsos Amplissimi Senatoris Bonherii bibliotheca excepit, et magnum aliquid expectare jussit ex codicibus MSS numero sumptuque ingenti collectis, quos tanti suus fecerat dominus... Inter hoc igitur, mole minimus, aestimatione nostra longè maximus fuit libellus titulum nequaquam fallacem praeferens: "Incipit martyrologium Bedae Presbyteri feliciter". Erat enim antiqua manu sed gemina characterum forma conscriptus: et quamvis dies vix ullos exhiberet vacuos alicuius Sancti vel nomine vel elogio, apparebat tamen etiam primo aspicientibus non de nihilo esse, quod maioribus alia, alia minoribus litterulis, nec a capite lineae ut priora, sed introrsum paulo incipientibus, essent descripta. Quare ad fragmentum Roma deportatum...recurrimus; invenimus quatuor illos Regii fragmenti menses iisdem prorsus verbis, et apice vix ullo mutato, convenire per omnia cum iis, quae in hoc integro martyrologio paulum grandiori characterē legebantur notata: quae vero minusculis litterulis scripta essent, universa priori Ms. deesse. Unde nullus relinquebatur dubitandi locus, quin per reliquum mensium praecedentium decursum similis observata distinctio, certo exhiberet indicio, quid in iis Bedae, quid alterius posterioris esset auctoris.¹

All of these prefaces are veritable dissertations on critical principles and indicate the great care and study which lie behind the preparation of each volume. The Acta Sanctorum is thus not a haphazard collection of

1. Acta SS. Martii, T. II, (1668), p. vi.

hagiographical information, but rather a studied and accurate edition of those mss. and traditions of the lives of the saints which conformed to the rigid rules and standards established by Bollandus and Henschen. It is little wonder¹ therefore that it received praise such as the following:

Leur travail est proprement une Critique perpétuelle dans le discernement desquels on voit regner le bon sens, le bon goût, et la bonne foi. Ils s'appliquent avec une persévérance exemplaire à examiner toutes les pièces, à distinguer les fausses et les supposées d'avec les véritables soit par les manières, soit par les stiles, soit par les circonstances des tems et des lieux, soit par les autres caractères de la vérité, qu'ils savent reconnaître par la pénétration de leur esprit, et la solidité de leur jugement.

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or the following encomium of Du Cange:

Ego certe, iis praesertim debere me plurimum ingenue fateor, qui Scriptores non veteres duntaxat, sed et quos aetas sequior tulit e tenebris erutos, hactenus neglectos etiam hac ipsa qua vivimus tempestate, ab interitu vindicant, qui quidem etsi nitida non omnino, imo insulsa interdum, ne dicam barbare persaepe oratione libros suos conscripserint, habent tamen, quod jam attigimus, unde magna eruditionis seges accedere possit; Eiusmodi sunt a viris omni virtutis et eruditionis genere ornatissimis, e Societate Jesu, Joanne Bollandi, Godefrido Henschenio, et Daniele Papebrochio, immenso studio undique conquisiti summoque reipublicae Christianae bono editi Scriptores qui Sanctorum vitas ac gesta litteris mandarunt, quos ii eruditissimis commentariis, in quibus, quicquid est reconditioris literaturae, occurrit, illustrarunt.

Upon the death of Henschen the task of directing the Aeta Sanctorum was assumed by Daniel Papebroch, whose

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1. Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, p.160.
 2. Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Conditum a Carolo...Domino du Cange, Auctum a Monachis Ordinis S.Benedicti, Vol.I, Paris, 1840, "Praef. of Du Cange," p.54.

claim to fame lies not only in the work which he contributed to the Acta but also in the publication of a short treatise which developed from the search for materials for the Acta. That treatise, entitled Propylaeum antiquarium circa veri et falsi discrimen in vetustis membranis, was planned at Luxemburg where Papebroch was detained a month during Henschen's illness and injury. While incomplete and confused palaeographically, it did serve as the impetus for Mabillon to prepare his De Re Diplomatica, which, published in 1681, was and still remains a masterpiece of palaeographical and diplomatic research. Yet, though Papebroch's work was the forerunner of the De Re Diplomatica, to work on the assumption that either Papebroch or Mabillon was the first man who was seriously interested in the science of palaeography would be a gross error. For long before both these men there were being sown in various parts of Europe the seeds which made possible the great harvest reaped in the De Re Diplomatica of Mabillon. That this planting should come to full fruition in the seventeenth century is one more proof of the inquisitiveness and urge for truth which prevailed throughout that era. In the following chapters the achievements of these pre-Mabillon palaeographers will be discussed and evaluated.

CHAPTER IV

PRE-MABILLON PALAEOGRAPHERS

In the centuries before Mabillon, as he himself has indicated,¹ four scripts were wont to be enumerated: (a) Scriptura Romana, (b) Scriptura Saxonica, (c) Scriptura Lombardica and (d) Scriptura Gothica. The first two of these present no difficulty as far as designation is concerned, but unfortunately the same may not be said of the latter pair, for, as we shall see, early palaeographers are immeshed in no end of confusion when speaking of these two.

Let us first consider the script called 'Lombardic'. The confusion which surrounded the nomenclature of this script which flourished for nearly five hundred years in the monasteries and schools throughout Southern Italy and which, it is now agreed, should be called not 'Lombardica' but 'Beneventana' has been thoroughly explained and clarified by that great palaeographer of our time, E.A.Lowe.² It is not

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1. De Re Diplomatica libri VI in quibus quicquid ad veterum instrumentorum antiquitatem, materiam, scripturam et stilum; quicquid ad sigilla, monogrammata, subscriptiones, ac notas chronologicas; quicquid inde ad antiquariam, historicam, forensemque disciplinam pertinet, explicatur et illustratur... Opera et studio Domni Johannis Mabillon...Luteciae Parisiorum...1681, Lib.I, Cap.xi,1: "Quatuor scripturarum genera enumerari..."
 2. E.A.Lowe, The Beneventan Script, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1914, pp.22 sqq.

that he attempts to deny the antiquity of the name 'Lombardica', for he presents a document dated 1008 which bears the remark "chartula comparationis scripta langobardisca", and to this he adds quotations or subscriptions from other documents, all of which attest the ancient use of that term.¹

Rather, Lowe claims that the word 'Lombardica' as applied to script is a misnomer, which made its formal entrance into palaeographical literature through the following remark of Mabillon: "Tum saeculo VI Langobardis in Italiam effusis, successit Langobardica scriptura ad communem usum."² Thus weight and credibility were given to the false theory that the Lombards had invented this script and had brought it with them into Italy with the subsequent supplanting of the Roman. Later scholars were reluctant to abandon it, for, as Lowe states:

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1. The name 'Lombardica', as Lowe points out, persisted down through the centuries and was used by the humanist Poggio to describe the almost illegible script of the Laurentian Tacitus. In a letter to Niccolo Niccoli, dated October 21, 1427, Poggio wrote: "Misisti mihi librum Senecae et Cornelium Tacitum, quod est mihi gratum: at is est litteris longobardis, et majori ex parte caducis, quod si scissem, liberassem te eo labore." Epist. III, 15, quoted by Lowe, ibid., p. 24. Emile Chatelain, Paleographie des Classiques Latins, Vol. II, Paris, 1892, p. 15, identifies this ms. as Laurentian MS. 68.2 and gives a specimen of it with the heading "Ecriture dite lombarde du XI^e siècle". Plate CXLVI, Lowe, op.cit., p. 71, also assigns it to the eleventh century and adds: "the entire history of the ms. as well as the writing speaks clearly for Monte Cassino as its home."
 2. Mabillon, op.cit., p. 46.
 3. Lowe, op.cit., p. 26.

It was so plausible that no proof was asked for. Scripts which were difficult to decipher, because they were full of ligatures and cursive letters, were by contrast with the legible, uncombined letters of ordinary minuscule, on the face of it, an un-Roman product, in other words the invention of barbarians. And the name Lombardic, by which such scripts were commonly known, constituted the historic sanction for the theory.

¹Maffei pointed out the error in this view, but the idea nevertheless persisted, so that the term 'Lombardica' has been improperly used even to our own day. ²It was Gaetano Marini, the author of I Papiri Diplomatici, ³who first realized that the proper designation for the script used in the entire duchy of Benevento for a number of centuries was not 'littera Lombardica' but 'littera Beneventana'. Unlike the term 'Lombardic', the name 'Beneventan' has always stood for only one distinct type of writing, and that the script of Southern Italy. This local designation would

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1. S.Maffei, Istoria Diplomatica, Mantua 1727, p.113. Referring to Mabillon's doctrine, he says: "ma nell aver confermata la vecchia volgar credenza, anzi ampliatone l'inganno, col fissar cinque generi d'antichi caratteri Latini, cioè Romano, Gotico, Longobardo, Sassonico, e Franco Gallico, io no posso conformarmi alla sua dottrina, mentre son per dimostrar nel prosequimento, come non ci fu carattere Gotico, non Longobardo, non Sassonico, non Francogallico, e son per dimostrarlo si chiaramente, che i principi geometrici non saran più evidenti.
 2. Lowe, ibid., p.28 for his list of citations from standard publications wherein 'Lombardic' was used to describe hands as distinct as Visigothic, Insular, Luxeuil type, Corbie type, North Italian pre-Caroline, South Italian minuscule, etc.
 3. I Papiri Diplomatici Raccolti ed Illustrati Dall'Abate Gaetano Marini in Roma, MDCCCV, p.226, col.II.

never have arisen had not the scriptoria of Northern Italy yielded to the Caroline reforms, thereby leaving "to the southern half the distinction of possessing a local script named after the region in which it flourished."¹ Thus when mention is made in the following pages of 'Lombardisca littera', we must bear in mind the above remarks and make the proper substitution.

Even greater confusion has surrounded the term 'Scriptura Gothica'. The visigothic script, as we know, contained the following letters:

u b c d d e e f g h i l m n o p q r r r a u x z

A national script, based on the Roman semi uncial and cursive, it was used in Spain from the 8th century to the 12th when its use in Sacred Books was forbidden by the Council of Leon in 1090.² There is evident in the writings of 16th and 17th century scholars a misconception that attributes the invention of this script to Ulfilas, the Arian Bishop of the Goths in the 4th century. This idea did not appear

1. Lowe, op.cit., p.40.

2. Paleografía Española by Agustín Millares Carlo, Barcelona 1929. "Decadencia y desaparición de la escritura visigótica libraria", p.161, sqq. Cf. also Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, XLII (1881), 70-81; XLIII (1882), 235-243; Giry, op.cit., p.516.

in Spanish History until the 13th century.¹ Before that time no one had placed in doubt the assertion of St. Isidore, who sustained that the Ulfilana Scriptura was formed after the Greek,² a statement which was confirmed by subsequent writers. By chance, in the 12th and 13th centuries, in order to propagate the 'litera francesca', there was spread abroad the report that the 'litera gotica' (Visigothic) had been invented by the Arian Ulfilas, a story that was given written expression for the first time in the Chronicon that was written by Archbishop Rodrigo in the 13th century.³

Yet the specimens of the script that was invented by Ulfilas, as preserved today in the Codex Argenteus in the Library of Upsala, demonstrate that the Scriptura Ulfilana was no more than the Greek, modified and accomodated

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1. Paleografía Visigoda. Metodo teorico Practico Para aprender a leer Los Codices Y Documentos Españoles de los siglos V al XII por D. Jesus Munoz Y Rivero, Madrid, 1881, p.5, n.1.
 2. S. Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Chronicon, 99, in Patrologiae Cursus Completus 83, c.1050. Accurante J.P. Migne...Paris, 1850. "Tunc quoque Gulfilas, Gothorum episcopus, ad instar Graecarum literarum, Gothis reperit litteras."
 3. Archbishop D. Rodrigo, Rerum Hisp. Chronicon, lib. II, cap. X: "Ecclesias construxerunt et sacerdotes evangelicos habuere, speciales litteras quae eis cum lege Gudila eorum episcopus tradiderat habuerunt, quae in antiquis Hispanarum et Galliarum libris adhuc hodie superextant, id est, littera quae dicitur toletana"; and in Book VI in speaking of the Council of Leon, 1090, he says: "statuerunt ut jam de coetero omnes scriptores, ommissa littera toletana quam Ulphilas episcopus invenit, Gallicis litteris uterentur." Both quotations as given in Rivero, op.cit., p.13, n.1.

by Ulfilas to the euphonistic conditions of the Gothic idiom. An examination of this ms. shows that the alphabet of Ulfilas was composed of 25 characters, 18 of which were of Greek origin, while seven were taken from the Latin. This script did not last in Spain any longer than Arianism remained as the religion of the state, and moreover its use was confined to ecclesiastical documents. This circumstance and the destruction of the Arian books in 589, a little¹ before the third council of Toledo, explain the absolute lack in Spain of monuments written in Ulfilan characters. The belief that the "scriptura ulfilana" survived until the 11th century has its foundation in the above quoted statement of Rodrigo, the substance of which was reiterated by Don Alfonso el Sabio in his Chronica General de España.² Both writers have been later copied without judgment,³ and in this manner were spread the errors concerning the duration of the scriptura ulfilana and the origin of the 'gotica (Visigothic) scriptura'.

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1. Fredegarius in his Chronicon assumes that it was three years before the third council of Toledo. España Sagrada, Tomo V, as quoted by Rivero, ibid., p.12.
 2. Rivero, ibid., p.13, n.1 quotes him thus: "escribanos desfacer la letra toledana, la que don Golfilas obispo de los Godos fallo primeramente".
 3. Cf. my remarks on Garibay, Aldrete, Junius and others of the 16th and 17th centuries who have handled 'Gothic' MSS.

Such a condition, therefore, necessitates considerable caution on the part of any student of the earlier stages of palaeography. Great confusion, as we have said, existed in the use of the term "Gothica". Even Mabillon is deluded and uses the word to indicate the script of the "Codex Ar-¹genteus", which is written in the Gothic language, the script of the diploma of Alphonse IX,² which has nothing clearly Visigothic in it, and the characters to be seen in one specimen taken from Aldrete,³ which is a good example of Visigothic script. Thus, each time one of these early writers uses the term "Gothica", we must carefully examine whether he is speaking of the Gothic script of Ulfilas or the Visigothic script which was used in Spain from the 8th to the 12th century.

For in this and succeeding chapters we shall study the contributions made to Palaeography by two groups of scholars, (1) those who purposely set out to engage in palaeographical research, and (2) those whose contributions to the study of scripts are only incidental to other literary projects entered into by them. With those of the former group we shall now begin.

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1. Mabillon, op.cit., Plate II, p.347.
 2. Ibid., Plate XLV.
 3. Ibid., Plate XLV.

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Among those mentioned by Mabillon as having devoted themselves to the study of script in the years preceding him was Johannes Baptista Palatinus. An Italian calligrapher of the 16th century, he is particularly remembered as the author of the book entitled Libro di M.Gionambattista Palatino. Nel qual s'insegna a Scrivere ogni sorte lettera, Antica, et Moderna, di qualunque natione, con le sue regole, et misure, et essempli.²

Such a title gives great promise and would lead one to believe that here is a man who made a distinct contribution to the science of palaeography one hundred and thirty six years before the De Re Diplomatica, but examination of the book forces you to conclude with Horace that, palaeographically at least,³ "Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus".

For Palatinus, although promising to give some data on ancient scripts together with their rules, measurements and specimens, actually concentrates on modern letters and gives us only one specimen of an old script.

1. Mabillon, op.cit., I, xi, 1, p.45: "Varios earum (scripturarum) modos effingi curavit superiori saeculo Johannes Baptista Palatinus Romanus...Verum haec fere omnia scripturarum genera recentiorum sunt temporum, non antiquorum, de quibus hic inquirimus".
2. It was written in 1545, but published in 1553 in Rome.
3. Horace, Epistularum Liber II, 3, 139.

Even the Pope, Paul III, who proclaimed his benediction on the book, indicated that the work would embrace ancient scripts, for he wrote:

Univérſis et ſingulis, quibus hae noſtrae literae exhibebuntur, ſalutem et Apoſtolicam ben. Cum ſicut dilectus filius Ioannes Baptiſta Palatinus Civis Roman. nobis exponi fecit, ipſe libellum ſuum artis ſcribendi omnia genera characterum antiquorum, et modernorum et omnium nationum, novis cum regulis, menſuris, et exemplis, etc...

But, as has been ſaid, ſuch is not the caſe.

Palatinus prefaces his work with a ſhort eſſay on the great value and bleſſing of writing, its function in recording the deeds and literature of the paſt, its taſk of drawing together men whom great diſtances have ſeparated, its importance in mercantile transactions, and moſt of all its power, through ſacred literature, of leading men to a knowledge and love of god. Immortal praiſe, he continues, is due thoſe who have dedicated themſelves to

1. Palatinus, op.cit., non paginated.
2. "Quanto ſia utile, et neceſſario lo ſcrivere Illuſtriſſ. et Reverendiſſ. Signor mio, gli eſſet ti nobiliſſimi, che da eſſo vengeno, ne fanno chiarisma fede a chiunque li prendere a conſiderare. Perioche ſe lo ſcrivere non fuſſe ſtato, in che modo ſ'harebbe egli potuto mantenere la memoria delle coſe dal principio del mondo inſino a queſti tempi? In qual maniera haveremmo noi notitia alcuna di cotante belle ſcientie, et diſcipline, et arti, ſe a gli autori di eſſe fuſſe mancato it beneficio della penna? In che guiſa, tolto di mezzo lo ſcrivere, potrebboni i Parenti, et gli Amici, metre che ſon lontani, ſalutariſi, et parlariſi? Come farebbono i Principi, come i Mercanti, come ogni altra ſorte d'huomini ſe in queſto come ne l'altre coſe Iddio non fuſſe ſtato al mundo cortefe, et liberale?"

the cause of writing and who ingeniously devised for its purpose palm leaves, bark of trees, wax tablets and all the beautiful papers of the modern age of printing. He himself, he says, has spent some time in the study of writing and is ready now to publish a revision of his former work (published in 1540) with the necessary corrections, and with fifteen plates which, he trusts, will in their variety not displease.¹ These plates contain specimens of the following kinds of writing: Maiuscole Cancellaresche, Cancellaresca Romana, Cancellaresca Romana Bastarda, Merchantile Milanese, Merchantile Romana, Merchantile Venetiana, Merchantile Fiorentina, Merchantile Senese, Merchantile Genovese, Merchantile Pergamasca, Merchantile

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1. Ibid., cont'd: Lo scrivere in somma e quello, che per mezzo delle sacre lettere ci fa conoscere Iddio, et che insieme ne mostra il camino onde a lui ci possiamo ricondurre, et senza il quale non altro, che un segno, sarebbono gli huomini, et il mondo. Immortal lode adunque meritan coloro, che per comunicare altrui questa divina virtu affaticati si sono, iquali come che molti stati sieno, et ne' presenti tempi, et ne' passati, et di santo sottile ingegno, che non so lo dalle foglie delle palme, dalle corteccie de gli arbori, et dalle tavole di cera a queste belle carte, et alla Stampa, ch' altro non e, che un scriver senza penna, et regolato, che poco, o niente e lontano alla perfettione...Ma perche nissuna cosa fu mai tanto perfetta, che con la diligentia, et con lo studio in alcun spatio di tempo non si potesse in qualche parte far migliore, e auvenuto che essendomi posto questo anno a rivedere, et a considerar minutamente questo mio libro, oltre l' haverlo grandamente migliorato con la correction di multo luoghi, io l'ho anchora arricchito di quindici Tavole, le quali (stimo) don doveram punto dispiacere, almeno per la lora varietà et perche si riconoscan da l'altre, ho in ciascuna d'esse posto il misillemo.

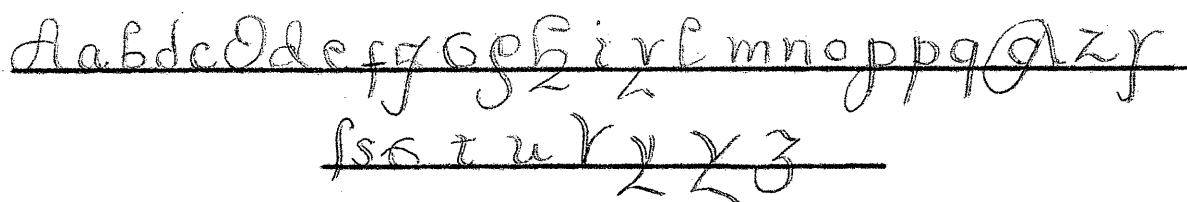
Anticha, Lettera di bolle Apostoliche (like the Gothic script of the 14th century), Lettera di Brevi (Humanistic Script), Cancellaresca Formata, Lettera Napolitana, Lettera Rognosa, Lettera Tagliata, Lettera Notaresca, Lettera Pretesca, Lettera Francese, Lettera Spagnola, Lettera Longobarda, Lettera Longobarda Corrente, Lettera Fiammenga, Lettera Tedesca, Lettera Moderna, Lettera Formata, Lettera Mancina and Lettera Trattizzata.

As is quite evident from the above list, the bulk of the specimens provided by Palatinus actually constitutes the 'modus scribendi' in each of the various cities of Italy. As for the others, the Cancellaresca Formata is nothing but the script which we today call 'Italics'..So also are the Lettera Napolitana and the Lettera Tagliata and Notaresca. The Lettera Francese, which he has taken from French documents and supplications, and which can be written rapidly,¹ are as follows:

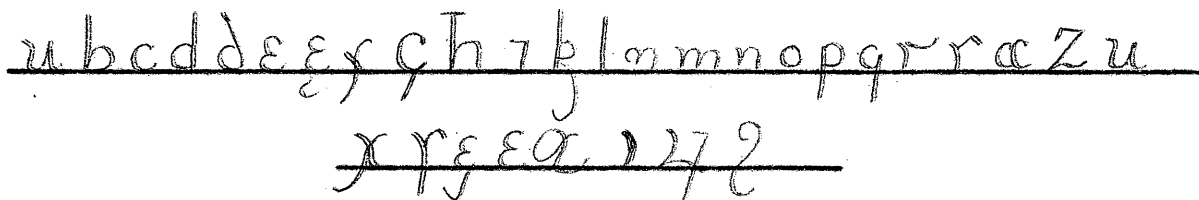
a b c c d d e e f g h i k l l m n o p q r s t t u v x y

1. Ibid., Perche a molti forse che sono usi a veder continuamente queste lettere Francese, che, s'usano in supplicationi, et Istrumenti parra che l'infrascritta sorte di Francese ch'io pongo nosia buono, m'e parso auvertirli come la detta lettera, che da me si pone, e vera et naturale, come io mi sono chiarito da molti Francesi valentissimi scrittori, da i quali lo l'imparai, et questa che s'usa in supplicationi, et istrumenti, e bastarda, et corrotta si per farla piu leggibile, come anchora per la velocita de lo scrivere, tal che viene ad esser a punto la bastarda, et corsiva de la vera, et naturale.etc.

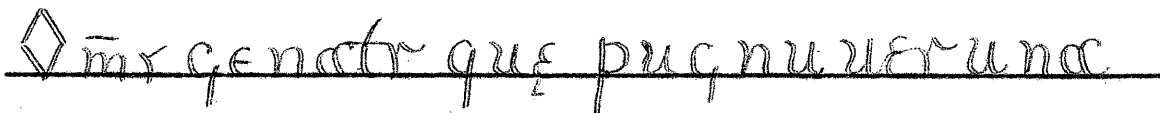
As is evident, this is nothing but the Humanistic script. The 'lettera Spagnola' which he presents is not the ancient script which was used in Spain from the 8th to the 12th century (i.e. the Visigothic) but merely a contemporary manner of writing then in vogue in Spain. It looked somewhat like the following:



Only the specimen of 'Lettera Longobarda' represents an example of an ancient script, for in this Palatinus presents the first facsimile of the alphabet together with a few lines of good Beneventan. The alphabet is as follows:



while a few words from the specimen are:



This then is Palatinus' contribution to the science of Palaeography. However, he gives no indication of his awareness of the fact that this 'Lettera Longobarda' was the only ancient script presented by him. In fact, he even fails to describe this script, content merely to include it in among all the other specimens. Nevertheless, a start

had been made in palaeography, and to him must be given the credit for its initiation.¹ But it was not until eleven years later that we meet the first really important contributor² to the science of palaeography, Pierre Hamon.

Born at Blois in the early part of the 16th century, Hamon soon became known throughout France for his excellent ability³ as a calligrapher. His talents did not escape the notice of the court, and he was thus chosen to give lessons in writing to the young king Charles IX, subsequently receiving in 1564 the assignment of secretary to that king.

1. Edward F. Strange in a lecture delivered May 20, 1895, entitled "The Writing Books of the Sixteenth Century", (Published in Transactions of the Bibliographical Society III, pp.41-69, London, 1896) lists Palatinus' book with other similar works written in that age. All, however, are concerned primarily with the manner of writing in the 16th century. e.g., Jean de Beauchesne published at Paris in 1550 a work entitled Thresor d'Escripture, a later edition of which constitutes the earliest writing book published in England. The British Museum copy, Strange says, is a small oblong quarto, commencing with an ornamental title page, cut, he thinks, in metal, and consisting in all of twelve sheets. The contents of the book covers much the usual ground, he continues: "examples of chancery, secretary, roman and gothic, some of them curiously modern in character". (p.51).
2. Cf. Biographie Universelle (Michaud) Tome Dix Huitième, Paris, 1857, p.413 sqq.
3. "Il était", dit Lacroix du Maine, "le plus renommé de France, voire de l'Europe, pour la perfection qu'il avait d'écrire en toutes sortes de lettres." Quoted in Biog. Univ., p.413.

His interest in script caused him to publish in 1561 a work entitled L'Alphabet de l'invention et utilité des lettres et caractères en diverses écritures, twenty leaves of engraved specimens of calligraphy. This work is of the greatest rarity and may be found in the British Museum (1268. a.5). A page from it, displaying what Hamon called "Lettre Plaisante", appears in Strange's The Writing Books of the Sixteenth Century.¹ This specimen merely depicts a 16th century manner of writing, and it is to be inferred that the other nineteen specimens did likewise.

In 1566-67, having conceived the idea of publishing models of ancient scripts, he obtained from the king the permission to borrow books from the library of Fontainebleau and to consult the mss. of St.Germain-des Pres, St. Denis, St.Victor, and the Abbey of St.Pierre de Melun.

The text of the king's letter of recommendation to the Abbot and religious of St.Denis, which is a clear indication that Hamon realized the changes in script throughout the centuries, is as follows:

Chers et bien amez, pour autant que nostre amé
et feal escrivain et secretere de nostre chambre
M^e Pierre Hamon faict un beau traicté de lettres
et karacteres francoys, grecz, romains, italiens
et latins, pour iceux reduire en art et mettre
en lumiere au proufit et utilite commun, et de
toutes personnes qui font profession de lettres

1. Edward F. Strange, op.cit., p.50.

en cestuy nostre Royaume, et pour ce fere a
 besoing de viziter et chercher par les chartres
 et bybliothèques des illustres et antiques maisons,
 ...ce qui luy necessaire pour acheminer le dezir
 qu'il a de rapporter l'antiquite des lettres et
 karacteres, pour, selon le temps et l'usage, les
 ramener a leur vraye forme, pour estre doresnavant
 entretenue par reigles et mesures certaines; à
 ceste cause et que nous scavons tres bien la bonne
 affection qu'iceluy nostre escrivain...ha de
 continuer son labour...nous vous avons bien voulu
 fere ce mot pour vous mander...que vous ne faciez
 difficulté de luy ouvrir vostre Libraerye et fere
 veoir vos chartres et fondacions antiques, pour
 en retirer (comme par un pourtraict) le corps, la
 façon et la forme des karacteres anciens qu'il y
 trouvera...

The work which resulted from this tour of the various monast-
 eries is entitled Le Recueil d'Anciennes Écritures and is
 preserved today in B.N. Ms.19116, Fonds Français. It is a
 small volume in folio of seventy seven pages, containing on
 pages 1 to 45 examples of ancient script, gathered by Ham-
 on, and on pages 71 to 73 and 76 to 77 some models of anc-
 ient numbers together with some letters of introduction, a-
 mong which was the letter above quoted. Since the work, as
 I have said, is still in ms. form, I have had to depend upon
 the detailed description made of it by M.Omont in 1901.¹
 The French text in the following pages constitutes direct
 quotes from Hamon.

1. Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXII, 1901, Paris,
 pp.57-73.

Fol. 1 contains "Nottes anticques, desquelles y a un Psaultier en la bybliothèque Saint Germain des Prez, qui en est escrit en langue latine. Ces Nottes sunt appellees Nottes ciceronienes."

Mabillon, who relied upon Hamon for more than one specimen, has reproduced this plate on page 457 of the De Re Diplom-¹atica as his example of Ciceronian Notes.

Fol. 2: "Nottes Ciceronienes. Ces Nottes ciceronienes sont de plus de 1200 ans."

Fol. 2^v: "Le Psaultier, duquel ce CL^e Paeaulme cy après, est tire de lettre antique, est à Saint Germain des Prez...et y a plus d'unze cens ans qu'il est escript de lettres d'or et d'argent, sur parchemin violet..."

Omont identifies this as B.N. Ms.lat.11947 and says that it² is written in uncials, a fact which is verified by Traube.³

Thus in his notation Hamon is correct in identifying uncials as a "lettre antique."

Fol. 5: "Ces lettres latines, fueilleues, dont ce couplet du premier des Psalmes de David est de l'autre part transcript, sont extraictes d'un Psaultier escrit à la main...duquel aussy l'alphabet cy devant est aussi extraict...pour tesmoigner, par l'antiquité des karacteres y depeintz, des temps et des figures de lettres qui regnoient l'an 669."

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1. Mabillon, op.cit., p.456. "In diplomatibus quandoque obtinent locum hae notae, maxime in signis subscribentium Cancellariorum praesertim sub prima et secunda stirpe Regum Francorum; atque etiam in subscriptionibus Episcoporum...Hoc vero specimen mutuati sumus ex Petro Hamone."
 2. Omont. op.cit., p.60.
 3. Ludwig Traube, Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen von L.Traube Munchen 1901, p.219. Erster Band. This ms., however, is not included among Chatelain's list of 5th century uncials. Emile Chatelain, Uncialis Scriptura Codicum Latinorum, Paris, 1902.

Omont has not identified this ms., but Hamon's remark about the script which was used in the year 669 reminds one of Lowe's statement¹ to the effect that the oldest known dated uncial ms. is one of St. Augustine written in 669.

Fol. 7v: "Alphabet ancien de lettres françoizes des chartres et lettres de Saint Germain des Prez."

This, Omont says,² is a facsimile of some lines of a Document of Childebert I of Dec. 556 and a chart of Chulbert of 720.

Fol. 9: "Lettres latines extraictes d'un fragment des Evangiles (de) saint Mathieu et de Saint Marc, escrites en lettres d'or...sur parchemin violet."

The ms. used here, Omont asserts,³ is B.N. Ms.lat. 11955, a ms. written in small rustic capitals to which Hamon has assigned the date 752. This ms., however, is not included in Traube's list of MSS. in Rustic Capitals,⁴ and if Omont is correct in identifying the script as Capital, (752 is quite late for a ms. in Rustic Capitals), then Hamon has correctly designated such letters as "latines".

1. A Sixth Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger; a study of six leaves of an uncial manuscript preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y. by E. A. Lowe and E. K. Rand, Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1922, p. 13-22.
2. Omont, op.cit., p. 61.
3. Ibid., p. 62.
4. Traube, op.cit.

Folios 14^v and 15 may be taken together because both contain the same type of script. Fol. 14^v has the notation: "C'est extraict de lettres lombardes fort antiques est d'un instrument escrit enescres d'arbres...", and Fol. 15 is described thus: "Alphabet de lettres lombardes tres antiques. Au dos duquel instrument est escrit, 'C.Julii Ces. testamentum',". Mabillon reproduces fol.15 in the De Re Diplomatica¹ and admits that he, just as Hamon, was fooled into thinking that this was the will of Caesar, since the inscription on the back of the document was in agreement with what Suetonius wrote about the will. But, I am convinced now, he says, that the above inscription, 'C.Julii Caesaris testamentum etc.', was added falsely to the document by a lazy ne'er do well who had succeeded in deluding both himself and Hamon, and moreover, the script employed must be assigned not to the age of Caesar but to the 6th century,² being similar to that used in the Charta Ravennensis reproduced in Plate LVIII of the De Re Diplomatica.

The De Re Diplomatica had been almost completed and ready for the press, Mabillon continues, when Baluze brought to his attention the fact that Peter Lambeck in

1. pp.344-5.

2. Ibid.,p.344: "Titulus apprime iis convenit, quae de Tulli Caesaris testamento scribit Suetonius in hunc modum...At certum est titulum superiorem regio instrumento perperam fuisse impositum a nebulone quodam male feriato, qui Hamoni, mihi que subinde fucum fecit...Itaque ad saeculum VI revocanda est scriptura, de qua vide quae a nobis dicenda sunt amplius ad tabellam LVIII libri V."

Book VIII of his Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensis had come across a very old volume written in a certain Latin script, so intricate and difficult to read that he was unable to arrive at the real sense either by rational processes or even divination.¹ When Mabillon saw Lambeck's specimen, he immediately recognized the script as being similar to Hamon's 'lettres lombardes tres antiques' of the so called will of Caesar and thus reproduced it in Plate LVIII. Some one, he says, may ask in what kind of hand this has been written. I say, he continues, that it should be called Italo-Gothica, the old forensic script

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1. Peter Lambeck, Commentariorum de Augusta Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensis Libri Octo, Vienna 1665, Book VIII, p.647, quoted as follows by Mabillon, op.cit., p.460; "Inter insignes nonnullos atque raros codices manuscriptos, quos anno MDCLXV in jam memoratae technothecae (arcis) Ambrasianae armario quodecimo praeter spem repperi, et postea Oeniponte in Augustissimam Bibliothecam Caesaream Vindobonensem transtuli; praecipuum fere locum obtinet volumen aliquod pervetustum oblongum Ex Cortice Arboris, continens Scripturam quandam antiquam, et eam quidem latinam, sed adeo obscuram, intricatam, et lectu difficilem, ut ipse hactenus nec veram lectionem, nec verum sensum, ratiocinando, seu potius divinando, assequi potuerim. Ut igitur etiam quilibet alii in eadem scriptura legenda, et interpretanda perspicaciam et dexteritatem suam possint experiri, exhibeo hic totum illud volumen, summa, quantum fieri potuit, diligentia et fidelitate depictum, ac aeri incisum." The above work of Lambeck, 'propter insignem raritatem', has been republished in digest form by Jacob Reimmann, Hanover, 1712, under the title: Bibliotheca Acroamatica, Theologica, Juridica, Medica, Philosophica, Historica et Philologica, comprehendens Recensionem Specialem Omnium Codicum Msctorum...Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis. The quote given by Mabillon, however, is not included in this digest,

used at Ravenna before the arrival of the Lombards in Italy. For it is certain that at this time 'scriptura forensis' did not consist of uncial or majuscule letters but rather of a cursive character not too different from our Merovingian.¹

Examination of Hamon's specimen of the will of Caesar reveals the qualities specified by Lowe² as being indicative of Beneventan cursive script. These are the letters a and t, written u and Q, and the use of the proclitic t, when t, leaning upon the following letter, loses its normal form. Thus t - ti. A line from this facsimile is as follows:


TUNC NON SOLUM UT PERJURII REATUS

Thus Hamon, although he does use the misnomer 'lombardes' for 'Beneventan',³ nevertheless should be credited with having identified correctly the script which one hundred years

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1. Mabillon, op.cit., p.460: "Quaerat aliquis, quo scripturae genere haec charta scripta sit?...Existimem tamen posse appellari Italo Gothicam, veterem usuaem seu forensem, qualis ante Langobardorum in Italiam adventum usitata fuisse videtur, saltem Ravennae...Unde per id tempus...certum est, atque scripturam forensem non uncialibus aut majusculis constitisse litteris, ut scripti codices ejus temporis constare solent, sed cursivo character, qui a nostro Merovingico non multum recedit."
 2. Lowe, The Beneventan Script, p.93 sq.
 3. Ibid., p.22 sq.

later puzzled so great a scholar as Peter Lambeck.¹

Fol. 17: "Lettres Antiques -- Fragmentum legis agrarie -- ...Extraict faict par Hamon de deux fragmens escripts et gravez en bronze au temps des Romains, lorsqu'ils commandoient en Afrique."

This specimen, classified by Hamon as 'antiques' and 'Romains',² has been reproduced by Mabillon, where we see that it was taken from a fragment of the Agrarian Law of 643, written in Rustic Capitals.

Folio 23 contains 'lettres anciennes gothiques' with the added notation that "Du temps de Valentinien et Valens, empereurs, Ulfilas, evesque des Gots, fut inventeur des lettres gothiques, et en icelles traduisit les Saintes Lettres." Which type of 'Gothic' letters these are, the Visigothic or the Gothic letters of the Gothic language, I have no way of knowing since I have seen no reproduction of them.³ Omont merely tells us that in the outer margin of folio 23 have been depicted the two sides of the two silver Iberian coins, one of the city of Irssona, and the other of Segobriga. Since the rounded, cursive elements of the Visigothic script would scarcely lend themselves to inscription on coins, we might conjecture that the specimen contained Gothic letters.

Folio 32: "Extraict d'un fragment antique de la Loy des Romains." This is another specimen from the fragment of the Agrarian Law of 643.

1. Cf. my remarks on Lambeck, p.346, sqq.
2. Mabillon, op.cit., pp344-5.
3. Omont, op.cit., p.64.

Fol.33: Extraictz faictz des lettres antiques de l'abbaye Saint Denys...Cest alphabet cy dessus est tiré d'aucunes Evangiles, escrites en lettres d'or et d'argent, sur parchemin azuré. --- Cest alphabet est d'un fragment d'escors d'arbres, de lettres distinctes, sans intervalle de mots ou syllables."

In the above notation, Hamon, although he fails to identify the script, yet gives testimony of his awareness of the fact that an old ms. is marked by an absence both of ligatures (lettres distinctes) and of separation between words (sans¹ intervalle de mots ou syllables).

Fol.35^v: Immunitates Karoli per (sic) diversis provinciis de omnibus rebus; en parchemin...Nota, qu'il y a un tiltre de Garinus, Dei Gratia, Silvanectensis episcopus, qui est escrit comme la propre lettre mercantile des Florentins."

Omont² identifies this as a diploma of Charlemagne in favor of the Abbey of Saint Denis (776), but he makes no remark about Hamon's reference to 'lettre mercantile des Florentins'. The fact that Hamon specifically mentions the script used in the 'tiltre de Garinus' might indicate that the body of the document was written in the popular 'litera francesca' of the Caroline reform, (since it was a diploma of Charlemagne), while the title retained the qualities of³ a North Italian cursive.

1. Cf. A Sixth Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger, by E.A.Lowe and E.K.Rand, pp.13-22 for an analysis of the characteristics of old mss. Read also "Some Facts about our oldest Latin MSS." by Lowe in the Classical Quarterly, 1925, pp.197-208.

2. Omont, op.cit., p.68.

3. It is possible also that this document which has been described by Hamon may be the charter in pre-Caroline Minuscule, which is reproduced in facsimile by Ferdinand Lot in Plate XXVI of his work Diplomata Karolinorum, Vol.I, Paris 1936, although that document is dated 778.

Fol.40^v: Language et esriture saxonniene tres antique, tirée d'un livre escrit à la main, d'un plume artiste, toutefois assez goffe; agée de 500 ans et plus, le livre est daté de MLXIIII.

Hamon has reproduced on this page, Omont says, a passage from a document of Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, a document which has been reprinted in the Cartularium Saxonicum of Walter de Gray Birch.¹ The beginning of the document with date and inscription is written in Latin; the grant itself is in the Anglo-Saxon language and script.²

From an analysis of the above excerpts, it is evident that Hamon recognized and correctly identified Tironian Notes, Scriptura Romana, Scriptura Saxonica, Scriptura Ben-eventana (although he called it 'Lombardica') and a Scriptura Gothica (fol.23). However, in assigning dates to particular mss., Hamon does not indicate the basis for his conclusions. He merely reproduces the alphabets taken from his specimens and dates the mss., but fails, as far

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1. Cartularium Saxonicum, Walter de Gray Birch, Vol.III, no. 1238, London, 1893.
 2. Like Hamon and Omont after him, I cannot resist the temptation to reproduce here the following interesting verse which has no bearing on the history of palaeography, but which Hamon found written 'de langue et karactere latins' in the book in which he found the document of Oswald. Omont, op.cit., p.70.

Victoria Aegiptiorum,
Invidia Judeorum,
Sapientia Graecorum,
Crudelitas Pictorum,
Fortitudo Romanorum,
Largitas Longobardorum,

Gulla Gallorum,
Superbia vel ferocitas
Francorum,
Ira Britanorum,
Stultitia Saxonum et Anglorum,
Libido Hibernorum.

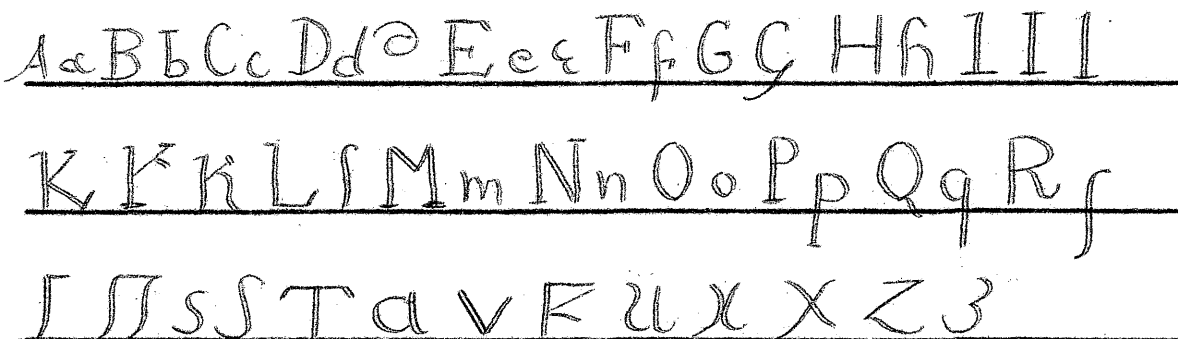
as can be seen from Omont's description, to specify the qualities which caused him to distinguish, for instance, between a 5th century Psalter (fol.2^{vo}) and one written in the 7th century (fol.5). Thus his descriptions, while maintaining a high degree of accuracy, are lacking in precise palaeographical detail.

Four years later in Spain, and independently of Hamon, there was produced another distinct contribution to the science of palaeography, for it was then that there was published the first facsimile of Visigothic Script.¹ This appeared in a work of Esteban de Garibay entitled Compendio Historial de las Crónicas e Historia Universal de Todos los Reinos de España, which was published in Antwerp in 1571.² Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa, a Spanish historian, was born in Mondragon in 1533 and died in Madrid in 1599. Well versed in Greek and Latin and in Spanish History, he claimed the attention of Philip II, who in 1576 named him librarian of the court and later (in 1592) chronicler of the realm. Besides the aforementioned work he also wrote

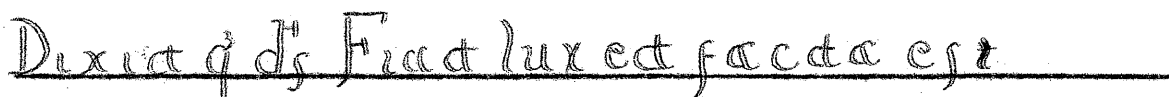
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1. Charles Upson Clark, Collectanea Hispanica, Paris, 1920, p.5, wrongly asserts that the first facsimile of a visigothic ms. appeared in Bernardo Aldrete's book, Del Origen y Principio de las lengua Castellana, fol.59^v, Rome, 1606, reprinted at Madrid, 1674.
 2. Cf. Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana, Tomo XXV, p.863, Balbao, Madrid, Barcelona, 1924, and Diccionario-Enciclopedico Hispano-Americano, Tomo Noveno, Barcelona, Montaner Y Simon, Editores, 1892, p. 173.

Ilustraciones Genealógicas de los Reyes Católicos de España y de los Emperadores de Constantinople hasta el rey don Felipe II y sus Hijos, Madrid 1596.

In the beginning of Book VIII of the ¹Compendio we see the following alphabet and six lines from a commentary of Genesis reproduced "letra por letra, y figura por figura, y abreviatura por abreviatura de una escriptura antiquissima original, escripta en este letra Gotica".



A complete line from the facsimile is as follows:



DIXITQUE DEUS FIAT LUX ET FACTA EST

Garibay, following Rodrigo, believed that Ulfilas was the inventor of this script, which with its abbreviations

1. pp.286-9.

was so different from that used in other nations of the world that he thought it necessary to make a facsimile of it. He calls it "letra Gotica", yet the alphabet, as is evident, and the facsimile are pure Visigothic with the characteristic a, g, and t (α γ τ) and such abbreviations as ds = deus, sup = super, sp^u = spiritus, q = que, qd = quod, un = unus, and uespe = vespere.

We must conclude with Georges Cirot, however, that Garibay was not too familiar with this script, or he would not have taken the trouble to transcribe it, and that, as far as he was concerned, "letra Gotica" was the script which we today designate as Visigothic.

Thus, Garibay's contribution, while small, yet evinced an interest in one particular script which was so compelling that he presented along with the specimen of it an alphabet extracted therefrom. It is also well to remember

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1. Garibay, op.cit., p.287: "Quando el Emperador Valente vino, a imperar en el imperio de Constantinopla, los Godos reynando entre ellos el Rey Athanarico, vinieron con licencia del Emperador Valente, a reposar algunos dias en la provincia de Bulgaria, d'esta otra parte del rio Danubio, y en su tiempo cayeron estas gètes en la heregia Arriana en el año passado de nascimiento de trezientos y uno, aviendo sido antes Catholicos, a lo qual dio lugar un Obispo, llamado Ulphila, que fue inventor de la letra Gotica, que con el discurso de tiempo vino, a llamar se Toledana, y las figuras d'esta letra antigua, segun hasta oy se conseyvan en privilegios muy antiguos, eran de la forma y señales, que aqui tras cada letra del siguiente A B C nuestro se porman."
 2. Revue Critique D'Histoire et de Littérature, Année 1924, Nouvelle serie, Tome XCI, Paris 1924, p.334 sqq.

that while he did not set out, as Hamon had, to edit purposely a work on scripts, yet a critical tendency on his part caused him to halt in his Compendio and reproduce the script of a Ms. which to him was very ancient, thus presenting the reader, although he makes no indication that he is so aware, with the first facsimile of Visigothic script.

The early stages of palaeography have thus far been represented by scholars from Italy, France and Spain. To meet our next palaeographer, we must now travel across the channel to England, the home of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Born in 1504, he went to Cambridge in 1521, became a Bible clerk at Corpus Christi College and was elected scholar in 1523 and fellow in 1527 in which year he was ordained. In 1535 he was appointed chaplain to Anne Boleyn and dean of her college for secular priests, a position which he held for nine years. In 1544 he was elected Master of Corpus Christi, and in 1552 dean of Lincoln. When Mary acceded to the throne in 1558, he went into seclusion but returned five years later when Elizabeth sought his advice in ecclesiastical matters. Other facts in the life of Matthew Parker may be found in all their panegyric copiousness in John Strype's work,¹ wherein he is called "one of the

1. John Strype, Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, Oxford, 1821.

greatest antiquarians of the age" to whom "the world is forever beholden...for two things: viz., for retrieving many ancient authors, Saxon and British, as well as Norman, and for restoring and enlightening a great deal of the ancient history of this noble island"¹. How great an antiquarian he was, we shall soon see. It is true, however, that he was a great retriever of many ancient authors, and for this purpose had in his service several men commissioned by the Privy Council to search all England for books of all sorts to be handed over to Parker for examination.²

One of these collectors, named Batman, in a book published in 1581, professed to having gathered sixty seven hundred within four years. He, speaking of Parker under the year 1575, wrote that the Archbishop was a man

1. Ibid., Book IV, Section II, p.497.

2. Eleanor N.Adams, Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800, New Haven, Yale Studies in English, No.IV, 1917, p.19: "In July 1568, a letter was issued by the Privy Council authorizing the Archbishop to have 'Special Care and Oversight, in the Conservation of such ancient Records and Monuments as were written of the State and Affairs of the Realm of England and Ireland...And because divers of such Writings were comen into the Hands of private Persons, and so partly remained Obscure and Unknown; they willed and required that when the same Archbishop should send his Letters or learned Deputies, that they would...gently impart the same. Not meaning to withdraw them from the Owners, but for a time to peruse the same, upon Promise...of making Restitution'."

"It is to be doubted", says Miss Adams, "if many books were ever restored to their owners."

with whom books remained, (although the most part (of them) according to the time, superstitious and fabulous, yet) some worthy the view and safe keeping, gathered within 4 years, of divinity, astronomy, history, physic, and others of sundry arts and science, (as I can truly avouch, having his Grace's commission, where unto his hand is yet to be seen) 6700, by my own travel. Whereof choice being taken, he most graciously bestowed many on Corpus Christi College in Cambridge. I was not the only man in this business, but others also did their good wills. This alone was a rare work, besides many other his good deeds.¹

However, Parker was not altogether honest in his dealings with mss., for in a letter of January 1565 he thanks Sir William Cecil for a book he had sent him, saying it was worth keeping "as well for the antique writing with the Saxon interpretation, as also for the strangeness of the translation". Some of the parts of the ms. are deficient, however, so that he intended to ask Lyllye, one of his helpers, to fill in the lacunae in a script similar to that used in the ms., but since Sir Cecil has a "singular artificer to adorn the same", he knows that Sir Cecil will have it done himself. We can hardly call such a practice truly antiquarian.

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1. Quoted by Strype, op.cit., Vol.II, Book IV, p.498.
 2. Correspondance of Matthew Parker, Comprising Letters Written by and to him from A.D. 1535 to his death 1575. Edited for the Parker Society by John Bruce and the Rev.Thomas T. Perowne, Cambridge at the University Press, 1853. Letter No. CXCV, p.253.

Nor was the motivation behind his book collection purely that of a genuine antiquarian. The polemic use of these books was first and foremost with him. Even Strype says Parker "sought much after Saxon Antiquities and many of them he made subservient to the Vindication of our Reformation in opposition to Popery, and particularly Saxon translations of the scriptures".¹ Matthias Flaccus (Illyricus)², a follower of Luther, may have influenced Parker in this respect, for he in May 1561 wrote to Parker³ urging him to collect historical mss. for ecclesiastical purposes, and to place in safe keeping such books as might illustrate "the obscured Truth of the Church and reprove the Popish Tyranny".

1. Strype, op.cit., p.535.

2. Illyricus (cf. Bayle, op.cit., Vol.8, pp.347-358) was born at Albona in Istria March 3, 1520. Having studied Humanities at Venice, he travelled from there to Germany in 1539, stopping first at Bale and subsequently at Wittenberg where in 1541 he became a disciple of Luther and Melancthon. War having dissipated the schools in Saxony, he went then to Brunswick where he acquired a reputation for his teaching. Upon his return to Wittenberg in 1547 he became a vigorous declaimer against the Pope and the Church. He published several works, the most important of which was that ecclesiastical history which was called the Centuries de Madgebourg. A tempestuous, querulous and turbulent character, a man who caused a thousand disorders even in the protestant church, he died at Frankfurt March 12, 1575. On the occasion of his death some one wrote of him: "Nequidquam recti fecisse nisi cum moreretur". Guill. Budaeus, Cent.xvi. OavatoXias, ad ann. 1575, apud Quenstedt, de Patriis eruditor, pag. 263, quoted by Bayle.

3. Cf. Strype, op.cit., Appendix no. xviii, and Correspondence of Matthew Parker, no.xcix, p.139.

Parker interpreted this suggestion of Flaccus as referring not to Greek and Latin mss. but rather to documents in Anglo-Saxon, and for this reason he has been called the "dominant figure among 16th century Saxonists",¹ having caused John Day, the type setter, to print between the years 1566-74 the first books done in Anglo-Saxon type. The initial offering of the new Anglo-Saxon type was Parker's A Testimonie of Antiquitie, (A Testimonie of Antiquitie shewing the Auncyent fayth in the Church of England, touching the Sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lord here publikely preached, and also receaved in the Saxons tyme about 600 years agoe...Imprinted at London by John Day.)² The preface, probably the work of John Joscelyn, Parker's secretary, proves the argumentative nature of this, the first book in the Anglo-Saxon type:

Great contention hath nowe been of longe tyme about the moste comfortable sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ our Saviour...But that thou mayest know (good Christian reader) how this is advouched more boldly than truely...

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1. Adams, op.cit., p.16. It is well to clarify the expressions "Saxon" and "Saxonist". Although these 16th century scholars spoke of "Saxon" documents, yet the term "Saxon" as used today refers not to the Anglo-Saxon but rather to the language of Saxony.
 2. Ibid., p.23. The volume contains the following: (a) Preface to the Christian Reader (English with Old English quotations; (b) A Sermon of the Paschall Lambe and of the sacramentall body and bloud of Christ, our Saviour (Old English); Epistle of Alfrike, Abbot of S.Albon's (.O.E.); (d) Epistle to Wulfstane (Latin); (e) The Lordes prayer, etc. in the Saxon and English tongue.

here is set forth unto thee a testimonye of
verye auncient tyme, wherein is plainly shewed
what was the iudgement of the learned men in
thys matter, in the dayes of the Saxons before
the conquest.¹

In 1571 came forth Parker's edition of the Gospels in
Old English with a preface by John Foxe (1516-87), wherein
he says in part:

What a controversie hath risen of late in our
dayes, whether it were convenient the Scriptures
of God to be put in our Englishe tongue, wherein
some...have thought it to be more dangerous to
have them in our popular language translated,
considering partly of the difficultie of the
Scriptures in themselves, and partly the weak-
nesse of our understanding in us...We have pub-
lished thys treatise...to this end, that the said
boke imprinted thus in the Saxon letters may re-
maine in the Church as a profitable example and
president of olde antiquitie...so likewise have
we to understand and conceive, by the edition
hereof, how the religion presently taught and
professed in the Church at this present, is no
new reformation of things lately begonne, which
were not before, but rather a reduction of the
Church to the Pristine State of olde conformi-
ties...whereof part hath been sufficiently de-
tected already by the godly diligence of the
sayd Archbishop (i.e., Parker)...in his boke of
the Saxon Sermon and other treatises.²

That the Anglo-Saxon language and script were unfam-
iliar and almost totally unknown even to the learned men
of Parker's time may be inferred from the correspondence
between Parker and his bishops. Parker, to add to his
collection, had asked the bishops to report to him the
books in their dioceses, particularly the Anglo-Saxon
books. The response of one of these, Bishop Jewel of

1. Adams. op.cit., p.24.

2. Ibid., p.32.

Salisbury, confirms this point:

...It may please your Grace to understand that according to my Promise I have ransacked our poor library of Salisbury, and have found nothing worthy the finding, saving only one Book written in the Saxon tongue...The Book is of reasonable Bigness...Your Grace hath 3 or 4 of the same size...It may be Alfricus for all my Cunning. But your Grace will soon find out what he is.¹

Further proof of this general unfamiliarity with the Anglo-Saxon language and script may be had in the exchange of letters between Parker and Bishop Davies. Davies² had a reputation as an antiquary, and thus Parker had sent to him an ancient ms. requesting his opinion of it. Salisbury, a friend of Davies, took great pains in the subject and formed an alphabet from the characters used in the ms. but was unable to decipher them. In addition to this alphabet, Salisbury sent the Archbishop facsimiles of ancient charters of donations. In a letter of March 28, 1565, Parker thanks the Bishop and Salisbury for the pains taken with the ancient ms. but informs them that the characters transmitted in facsimile by Salisbury are old Saxon.

I pray you thank Mr. Salisbury whose full writing his conjecture, I like well, and as for decyphering my quire in such a strange charact,

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1. Strype says that he found this letter in a folio volume in the Public Library of Cambridge, "the book being S. Gregory's Tract, De Cura Pastoralis, turned paraphrastically into Saxon" by Alfred the Great.
 2. Correspondence of Matthew Parker, no.cciv, p.265.

it shall be reserved to some other opportunity to be considered. As for those characts, wherein some of your records of donation be written. It is the speech of the old Saxon, whereof I have divers books and works and have in my house of them which do well understand them.¹

Archbishop Cranmer in his Preface to Parker's Holie Bible² in English, printed in 1578, speaks also of the unfamiliarity with the Anglo-Saxon:

For it is not much above one hundred yeere agoe, since scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue wythin this realme, and many hundred yeeres before that, it was translated and read in the Saxon tongue which at that time was our mother tongue, whereof there remayne yet divers coppies found lately in olde Abbeys, of such antyque manner of wryting and speaking, that fewe men nowe ben able to read and understand them. And when this language waxed olde and out of common usage, because folke should not lacke the fruite of reading, it was agayne translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many coppies remayne, and be dayly founde.

Since such a condition existed, and since Parker looked upon Saxon (i.e., Anglo-Saxon) antiquities as a means of vindicating "our Reformation in opposition to Popery", we are not surprised when we read his preface to Asser's Aelfædi Regis Res Gestæ.³ For, this work, he says, is being printed in Latin in the Anglo-Saxon

1. Ibid., no.ccviii, p.271.

2. The frontispiece of this volume in the New York Public Library is missing, but the date 1578 is assigned to it in the catalogue.

3. The work exists in reprint in Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a Veteribus Scripta...editi, ex Bibliotheca Guilielmi Camdeni, Francofurti, 1603.

character¹ out of veneration for the great age of the arch-
 etype. And this he did mainly to encourage the readers
 to study the Saxon² (Anglo-Saxon) language. For he felt²
 that, having once become acquainted with Saxon characters,²
 the people might then turn their attention toward Saxon²
 (Anglo-Saxon) writings from which they would derive im-
 mense pleasure and incredible profit. Besides, Parker
 continues, it was worth one's pains to compare our lang-
 uage which we now use with that which is at the present
 obsolete and almost extinct so that we may observe how
 similar they are. This is the reason why, in printing²
 the four Gospels in Saxon² script and language, he had
 placed the English of current use in the margin.

Acquaintance with the Saxon Characters, Parker adds,
 serves another purpose; namely, it will be most helpful
 in the understanding of the Irish language. For though
 the two languages were different, yet the letters in which
 the books of the Irish were written were the same as those²
 of the Saxon, and hereby might be opened a door to the
 knowledge of the Irish tongue, a tongue in which had been
 written some very ancient books. Finally through a know-²
 ledge of Saxon the reader would be able to understand the

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1. Camden's printer, however, did not have Saxon type and so could not reprint Asser's life of King Alfred thus, but lest the reader should feel that he was being inconvenienced by this, he prefaced the work with Day's Saxon Alphabet.
 2. When I use the word Saxon, I am translating exactly from Parker. Cf. p.167, n.1.

many monuments of ancient times written in Saxon words and letters before and after the coming of the Normans. To lend impetus to this study of the Saxon, he had made Day, the printer, cut the Saxon type in brass, this for the first time. Let us now examine Parker's own words as reprinted by Camden:

Aelfridi regis...historiam, tibi exhibemus a Joanne Assero...Latinis litteris luculenter expressam...Latina autem cum sint, Saxonice litteris excudi curavimus, maxime ab venerandam ipsius archetypi antiquitatem ipso adhuc (ut opinio fert mea) Aelfredo superstite, iisdem litterarum formulis descriptam. Augent conjecturam Pastoralia, quae ab ipso prudentissimo rege ex sermone Romano in Saxonicum conversa fuerunt, atque illius imperio per quasdam Britanniae Ecclesias sparsa.

.....
Sin autem quis requirit, quamobrem cum isthaec Latinis literis memoriae mandentur, eadem tamen nos Saxonice typis pervulgari fecerimus, nihil est, quod expedire tam facile possimus. Etenim cum ipsa nos primi exemplaris (ut antea dixi) antiquitas, debita quaedam veneratione perfudit: tum magni ad fidem et auctoritatem interesse putabamus, si quae priscis notis verbisque conscripta, exsignataque ad manus nostras pervenissent, eadem nos iisdem literarum formulis imprimeremus. Eoque me minus instituti mei poenitet, quod facile sentio, hanc meam cogitationem, tibi, (amice lector) nec inutilem, neque iniucundam futuram. Primum enim, ubi huius te libelli lectioni paululum assuefeceris, literarumque priscarum gnarum iam extiteris, licebit a Latinis ad Saxonica studium convertere, quorum ex scriptis (mihi crede) non mediocrem voluptatem adipiscere: et in veteribus monumentis perscrutandis incredibilem cum voluptate utilitatem coniunges. Praeterea operae pretium erit patrium hunc nostrum (quo hodie utimur) sermonem, cum illo obsoleto jam pene et extincto conferre, et conferendo quam sint inter se similes, et pene eadem animadvertere. Quam potissimum ob causam, quatuor Evangelia eadem lingua, atque iisdem literarum formulis excudi curavimus, et quo facilius eius cognitionem

intelligentiamque comprehenderes, Anglica cum Saxonice in margine conjunximus, talibusque notis atque figuram signis distinximus, ut perfacile inter se diversarum linguarum sententiae comparari queant. Accedit huc etiam, quod cum Hybernici libros aliquot antiquissimos sermone vernaculo conscriptos reliquerint, eosque Saxonice characteribus exsignaverint (quamquam verborum sensum, atque pronuntiandi morem nativum obtinentem atque domesticum, tamen quandoquidem in vocibus describendis etiam hisce diebus Saxonice utuntur typis ac formulis) ex horum characterum notitia et intellectu, aditus certe patebit aliquis ad eius quoque linguae scientiam iis qui in regionibus illis legationis aliquod munus obierint, aut alio quovis modo eius Insulae negotiis implicabuntur. Iam vero cum Dayus Typographus primus (et omnium certe quod sciam solus) has formas aeri inciderit: facile quae Saxonice literis perscripta sunt, iisdem typis divulgabuntur. Quorum sane lectio et veteris tibi linguae, ac quondam domesticae memoriam renovabit, et haud parvam suppeditabit abstrusae cognitionis suppellectilem. Facile autem erit vocum vim, et verborum varietatem percipere, praesertim cum tanta sit huius nostrae (qua nunc utimur) linguae et illius veteris similitudo.

.....
 Quin etiam quoniam diplomata multa et vetustioris aetatis monumenta, tum regiae, quae in archivis custodiuntur chartae, tam ante, quam post Normannorum in Angliam adventum, adhuc extant, quae Saxonice et verbis et literis comprehenduntur, omnes qui in regni institutis addiscendis elaboraverunt, cohortabor, ut exiguo labore, seu pene nullo huius sibi linguae cognitionem acquirant.¹

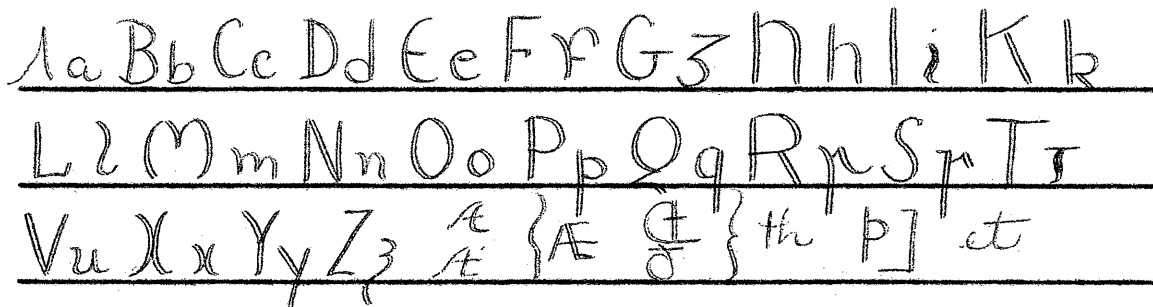
Camden's printer, as I have said, did not have the "Saxon" type, but he tried to satisfy the reader by reproducing Day's "Saxon" alphabet:

Historia de Aelfredo Rege per Asserum descripta, typis equidem Saxonice antehac impressa fuit. Impressionis illius mentionem facit (ut vides) praefatio proxime praecedens, Ad me vero quod attinet, quandoquidem typis illis Saxonice

1. Ibid., R.P. Matthaesi Parkeri... in Asseri Menevensis Aelfredum Praefatio.

destitutus fui, eosque ad tractatum adeo brevem fundi curare operae precium non fore mihi persuasum habui: ideo typos communes et usitatos ad illum excudendum adhiberi volui. Verumtamen, ne putares incommodum quoddam ex ea re ad te redundaturum, volui, ut alphabetum Saxonicum hic adjungeretur; ut, quae differentia inter orthographiam Saxonum illorum veterum et populorum aliorum esset, cum voluptate quadam et delectatione perspicere posses. Hac de re admonendum te esse putavi. Vale.¹

That alphabet was as follows:



As is evident, the only things which distinguish this from the minuscule "Scriptura Saxonica" of Latin mss.² are the letters which are proper to the Anglo-Saxon language. Parker must, therefore, be credited with having popularized this Anglo-Saxon script, for subsequently there came forth from the presses of English printers a slight, but steady, flow

1. Ibid., "Typographus Benevolo Lectori S.P."

2. Cf. Codices Latini Antiquiores 139 by Lowe for a facsimile of a ms. of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, written in 737, Cambridge U. Library, KK V 16. An alphabet taken from this specimen of "scriptura Saxonica" is identical with that of Day's press. As Miss Adams says, op. cit., p. 157, Appendix III: "The Anglo-Saxons themselves may have been ignorant of letters when they came into England, and there is of course, no such thing as a distinctive Anglo-Saxon character. The Old English mss. were written in a hand adapted from the Roman minuscule used by the Irish monks."

of books printed in the Anglo-Saxon character. They may be¹
tabulated as follows:

Date of Publication.	Title	Author or Editor	Printer
1566	A Testimonie of Antiquitie	M. Parker	J. Day
1568	Archaionomia	Lambarde	J. Day
1571	Gospels	Foxe	J. Day
1574	Aelfredi Regis Res Gestae	Parker	J. Day
1640	Psalterium	J. Spelman	R. Young
1643	Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum	A. Wheloc	R. Daniel
1644	Archaionomia	A. Wheloc	R. Daniel
1653	Caedmonis Monachi Paraphrasis Poetica	Junius	C. Cunrad
1665	Quattuor D.N. Jesu Christi Evangeliorum	Marshall & Junius	H. & J. Essae

The books listed above constitute those printed fully in the 'Saxon' script. They do not include those in which appeared extracts of varying lengths which used the 'Saxon' character.¹ Of these there were many.

We must now speak of the Catalogue of Parker's books,² which was edited in 1775 by J. Nasmith. In the preface Nasmith states that in describing the mss. he has followed the notes of Parker and his successors,

Notas a Parkero, Jocelino aliisque codicibus inscriptas, Jamesum et Stanleium secutus, retinui; quasdam ab eis praetermissas inserui; meas aliquando addidi.

1. Cf. Adams, *op.cit.*, p.173 sqq. for the complete list.
2. Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Quos Collegio Corporis Christi et B. Mariae Virginis in Academia Cantabrigiensi Legavit Reverendissimus...Matthaeus Parker, Edidit Jacobus Nasmith, Cambridge, 1777.

although he gives no indication by which you may know which were Parker's. However, to complete the picture of Parker as a palaeographer, it is necessary to give the pertinent excerpts from this catalogue. We find, of course, several references to the "scriptura Saxonica", such as the following:

Page 7, #xii: Codex membranaceus in folio grandioribus literis exaratur...Codex tam in margine quam inter lineas textus glossatur latine manu Normanno-Saxonica.

Page 12: ...inscriptio...literis Saxoniciis majusculis.

Page 35, #lvii: Codex...vetustissimus...literis Saxoniciis scriptus.

Page 216, #cxliv: Codex...vetustioribus literis Saxoniciis, seculo post Christum ut videtur octavo exaratus.

In addition there are these references to other scripts:

Page 33, #liii: Hoc Psalterium scriptum est caractere Gothico nitidissimo, literis initialibus ubique auro et coloribus vividissimis depictis.

Page 47, #lxix: Codex...caractere Longobardico scriptus.

Page 62, #xciv: Fragmentum ms. perantiqui, literis uncialibus sine ulla vocum distinctione exarati.

Page 216, #cxliv: Fragmentum Latinum, literis Hiberniciis scriptum, ad rem grammaticam pertinens.

As has been said, it cannot be stated with certainty to whom the above citations should be credited, particularly those pertaining to scripts other than the Saxon. It can merely be asserted that careful perusal of the correspondence of Matthew Parker yields no reference to any script

other than the Anglo-Saxon. But the work that Parker did in his attempt to popularize that "scriptura saxonica" places him in the first ranks of early palaeographers. Even though his main purpose in doing such was the restoration of Saxon (i.e. Anglo-Saxon) Antiquities, the fact remains that through his efforts the "scriptura saxonica" of Latin manuscripts was taken from its abode in rarely seen codices and placed in type before a more widely spread public.


The next scholar included in this group is unique in that we can not lay a finger on any large palaeographical contribution made by him, but we may reasonably infer from a letter addressed to King Philip II of Spain that he was capable of devising a system of palaeography. The man of whom we speak is Antoine Augustin, the Archbishop of Tarra-gona. Having studied law in the Universities of Bologna and Padua (1537-38), he travelled in 1541 to Florence to consult the celebrated ms. of the Pandecta.² Here he prepared the great work Emendationum et Opinionum Libri,³ which,

1. For information on the life of Augustin, cf. "Essai sur les Origines du Fonds Grec de l'Escurial" par Charles Graux, Paris 1880 in Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes - Sciences Philologiques et Historiques - Quarante-Sixieme Fascicule, Paris, 1880, p.280 sqq.
2. Lowe, C.L.A., 295, a 6th century ms. in uncial and mixed half uncial.
3. "Antonini Augustini Emendationum et Opinionum libri IV" in Thesaurus Juris Romani, continens Rariora Meliorum Interpretum Opuscula... Tomus IV, Editio Secunda, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1733.

when published in Venice in 1543, gained for him the esteem of the most renowned critics of the day.

In the prefatory epistle to this work, Augustin reveals that his interest in law had caused him to study the Greek and Latin interpreters of the "Jus Civile", both ancient and modern, but that nothing caused him more annoyance than the fact that there were so many variations in the mss. containing the laws. Moreover, he continued, if there were any doubt about the wording of the laws themselves, then the laws would be useless in the defense of justice. Thus, when he learned that the best part of the "Jus Civile" was contained in "those very noble mss." at Florence, he obtained permission to use it as long as necessary so that he might, through it, correct other mss. in his own possession. The Florentine Pandecta was, he says, "antiquissimum illud Juris Civilis monumentum sine ullis aut raris verborum atque membrorum spatiis scriptum sit, ipsaque litterarum figura Romanae Graecaeque veteri scripturae proxime accedere

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1. Ibid., c.1427: "Nulla res non magis dubios incertosque dimittebat, quam quod non eandem omnibus legum libris scripturam, quodque molestissime semper tuli, contrariam non uno atque altero loco, sed paene sexcentis inveniremus. Namque ita existimabam, non posse quemquam aliorum disceptationes definire, aut de jure interrogatum respondere, aut discipulos docere suos, aut defendere clientes...si de legum ipsarum verbis dubitaret. Itaque cum didicissem optimam Juris Civilis partem ex nobilissimis illis libris, qui Florentinae nunc sunt...exscriptam esse...impetravi...tamdiu illis libris uti liceret, quamdiu nostrorum librorum emendationi operam dare volumus."

videatur".¹ This ms. which Augustin is describing is a 6th century uncial and mixed half uncial, and thus he is correct both in calling it "antiquissimum" and in indicating the similarity of the script to the old Roman and Greek, for the uncial script, which prevailed from the 4th to the 8th century, was a Roman majuscule script which differed from the old Roman Capitals only in the roundness of its characters and in the formation of its typical letters -- a, d, e, g and m. ³

His great interest in mss. caused him to study them carefully and assiduously, and eventually to make a collection of them. In 1544 he was named auditor of the Rota by Pope Paul III, and in 1555 he began an official tour of leading European countries, England in 1555 and Germany in 1558 on Papal business, and Sicily in 1559 at the request of the Emperor. While in these countries, he made the acquaintance of foreign scholars and the productions of foreign presses. It is sufficient, Graux says, to read his

1. Ibid., c.1427.

2. Aldrete, op.cit., fol.58r, quotes this passage from Augustin and adds that Augustin had spoken herein with "gran propiedad" about the Roman script of the Florentine Pandecta.

3. Cf. L.Schiaparelli, La Scrittura Latina nell'età romana, Como, 1921, pp.142-155.

correspondence, above all that with Geronimo Zurita or Fulvio Orsini to see that through all this he was dominated by a single thought, the acquisition of mss., "pourvu que se¹ soient des originaux, ou des transcriptions d'un bon texte". Vogel says that he even paid gold for the making of some² copies.

Named Bishop of Lerida in 1559, he was transferred in 1576 to the archiepiscopal see of Tarragona, where his insatiable thirst for books still persisted, but now with a greater chance of being satiated because of the increased revenue. The Escorial with its rich deposit of books was³ a favorite source from which he could have copies made.

He made a catalogue of his books which appeared in 1586, the year of his death. This book, extremely rare, may be found in the edition of his complete works, T.VIII, pp.29-161, and has been catalogued with the following words in the library of the Escorial, V - III - 25:

Fol. 1. Aeternae memoriae viri Ant. Augustini Archiepiscopi Tarracon. Bibliothecae Graeca mss., latina mss., mixta ex libris editis variarum linguarum. Tarracone, apud Philippum Mey^o DXXCVI.

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1. Graux, op.cit., p.282.
 2. E.G.Vogel, Serapeum, T.VII, 1846, p.255: "Es est hinreichend bekannt, mit welchen Eiser er Handschriften in allen Sprachen sammelte, so dass er einst für eine einzige Sendung in Rom für ihr gefertigter Abschriften 160 Ducaten zahlte."
 3. Graux, op.cit., p.283, quotes a letter of Augustin: "Gracian me escribe que Su Magestad de la licencia que se copien para mi los libros que pido...Los libros principales que deseo son etc...". Graux says that this letter may be found in Augustini Opera, T.VII, p.204.

Because of this work,¹ Graux makes the following statement² about Augustin:

Augustin était excellente paléographe; il n'a point négligé d'indiquer l'âge de chaque manuscrit, non plus que le format de chacun d'eux et la matière sur laquelle ils étaient écrits.

You will notice in this quote that Graux makes no mention of Augustin's identification of script, yet he does call him an excellent palaeographer. Whether or not the archbishop identified the character in which each of the mss. in his possession was written, I do not know since I was unable to consult the book, but it is likely from the few extracts that Graux has made from Augustin's Catalogue that script did feature in his descriptions. The following³ remarks about a Greek ms. are typical:

#193: Procli item de eadem theologia Platonis liber secundus, etc...Liber in charta recent. litter. forma folii.

Whatever may be the case, the following information on Augustin should assure for him a place in a history of palaeography.

In 1578-80 Antonio Gracian, secretary of the King, wrote to Augustin asking his advice on the reorganization of the library of the Escorial. Augustin's response

1. Graux, op.cit., p.285, n.1.

2. Ibid., p.298.

3. Ibid., p.301.

contained among other things the suggestion that the library be placed under the care of another Demetrius of Phaleris, who would have under his command other scholars and a certain number of copyists for both Greek and Latin.¹

At almost the same time, or a little later, Doctor Jean-Baptiste Cardona, then canon of Valencia and subsequently Bishop of Tortosa, sent to the king a memoir nominating Augustin himself as the most capable and most worthy of being the Demetrius of whom he spoke. Written originally in Spanish, this memoir was later translated into Latin with some retouches and published under that form at Tarragona in 1587. The original Spanish copy is² as follows:

Porque los muy studiosos y amigos de la antiquedad, con la observation y atencion con que an leido y visto libros, por la forma de las letras y la figura de los caracteres conoscién poco mas ó menos, quantos años ha que escriuieron los libros, por tener entendido, en cada siglo y era, que letra usava y que forme; y, porque ay pocos questen bien exercitados en esto y lo sepan exactamente, será bien que el arçobispo de Tarragona se desocupe de sus ordinarios estudios, que lo hará en poco mas de un mes y con mucha facilidad, y junte un libro desta manera, que diga letras y caracteres que se usavan ahora mil años en los libros griegos y latinos, y luego ponga por exemplo dos o tres ojas de pargamino de escriptura de quel tiempo,

1. Ibid., p.309.

2. Ms. de l'Escorial d - III - 25, fol.6-8, quoted by Graux, op.cit., p.314, n.1.

para que se aprenda y conciba bien, luego despues diga letras y caracteres con que se escrevia ahora setecientos anos ha, y luego poner otras tan ojas de aquellos libros antiguos, y proseguir adelante. Y, para la institucion (sic) de los ignorantes y claridad de los que leen y transladan en librerias, serie bien destas formas de letras hacer un abezedario y nota de las abbreviaciones, y con esto, viendo los libros antiguos y comprobandolos y cotejandolos, con este libro, se podra sacar y rastrear quantos anos ha que se escrivio; y, con los libros que de cada dia se ynbi aran a V.M.^d y rrelatacion dellos, se podra acrescenter este trabajo y diligencia, la qual sera de ymmenso provecho y notablemente curiosa y no hecha por nadie.

The Latin reprint was as follows:

Ad codicum autem quod attinet vetustatem certium (sic) deprehendendam ratio haec poterit iniri: mandabitur provincia studioso cuiuspiam et antiquario qui assidua membrarum, codicum, lapidum et nummorum veterum lectione et inspectione notatas habeat varias litterarum formas pro temporum varietate et usu earum dissimili, quique possit aetatem conjicere prudenter. Is librum conficiet eiusmodi characterum in aetates distinctum diligenter, et cuique aetati suos tribuet characteres, ut horum comparatione facta facilius in bibliotheca de cujusque codicis aetate certius possit judicari; sed et significationes litterarum et singularum et complexarum eo in libro adscriberentur, item notae ponderum et numerorum: idque non latine modo, verum etiam Graece proque aliarum linguarum varietate. Qui etiam labor magnum afferet adjumentum legendis veter. monumentis. Quamquam hanc certe provinciam non uni, sed pluribus mandari velim.¹

It is clear from the above letters, both the Spanish

1. Cardona, De Regia S.Laurentii Bibliotheca, Tarragone, 1587, quoted by Graux, op.cit., pp. 314-5.

original and the Latin reprint, that a precise plan of palaeography had been conceived by these two men. Cardona suggests that the Archbishop of Tarragona, Antoine Augustin, do something which would be not at all difficult for him, namely compile a book in which would be placed the characters used in Greek and Latin mss. a thousand years ago, followed by two or three sheets of parchments exemplifying the writing of that time. Then should be inserted letters and characters of six hundred years ago together with samples of these, and so on down through the centuries. In other words, Augustin should assign to each age its own characters and abbreviations so that by a comparison of these one would be able to judge more easily the age of any ms. in the library. The Latin letter adds the suggestion that letters, both singly and in ligature, be included in this work, along with the notae of weights and numbers, and all these both in Greek and Latin.

Although the letter explaining this plan was written by Cardona, Graux is of the opinion that the idea originated with Augustin:

Cardona et Augustin étaient trop liés, pourqu'une idée comme celle d'une Paleographie soit venue et se soit développée dans l'esprit de Cardona, sans qu'il en eût fait part à Augustin et qu'ils l'eussent mûrie ensemble; et peut-être même l'idée est elle d'Augustin.¹

1. Grauc, op.cit., p.313, n.1.

Whatever may be the case, and to whomever the credit should be given, both men are deserving of commendation in the field of palaeography; Antoine Augustin, for the confidence, presumably not unfounded, which Cardona had in his ability to evolve a system of palaeography, and Cardona himself for the actual construction of the blueprint of this system, as drawn up in the letters above quoted.

1. Cardona certainly had some sound ideas on the relative value of mss., as one can see in the following extract from one of the rare works that he had published. De Regia S. Laurentii Bibliotheca, Tarragone, 1587, quoted by Graux, op.cit., p.18.

Neque vero ii tantum libri colligeri debent, qui numquam antea sint impressi; sed et qui jam excussi sunt, si quae sint eorum exempla vetustiora, praesertim manuscripta. Accidere enim saepe videmus, et magno reip. litterariae incommodo experimur, ut inter imprimendum quaedam vel omittantur vel addantur vel in pejus mutantur, librorum vel incuria vel audacia vel malitia et animi perversitate... Jam vero librorum non pretium idem et aestimatio erit. Certe enim quem auctor sua manu scripserit omnibus aliis est praeferendus. Quo etiam loco habendus is, quem non auctor quidem scripsit, verum scriptum tamen ab alio ipse emendavit. Secundo loco erunt illius exempla: et sic deinceps vel pluris vel minoris aestimabuntur pro temporis praerogativa. Neque vero ideo velim rejici alios omnes a Bibliothecae Regiae praefecto; nam et multos libros videmus manu quidem recenti descriptos, multo tamen aliis puriores et integriores, quod sint exempla priorum et probatissimorum, unde quasi e fontibus emanarint. Pateat his igitur etiam aditus, sintque unius libri exempla plurima. Jam ut verum sit (ut certe est) libros describendo depravari, illud tamen negari non potest plerisque in locis veram scripturam retineri, aut certe vestigia quaedam illius adumbrari: quo fit, ut, cum antiquiores sint pluribus locis meliores, tamen alicubi male affecti cum sint, recentiorum ope saepe adjuvantur, praesertim si quae eorum litterae obsoleverint, ut nisi lumine hinc accenso perpetuis tenebris damnentur.

While Parker's deputies were busily combing England for "Saxon Antiquities" and while Antoine Augustine was occupied in Spain in securing ancient mss. for his collection, there lived in Belgium another man who was destined to make a name for himself in the field of palaeography. Bonaventura De Smet,¹ otherwise known as Vulcanius, was born in 1538 at Bruges, the son of a man who had enjoyed the friendship and praise of Erasmus. Having studied literature and ancient languages at Louvain, he was dubious about the choice of a vocation in life until Cardinal Fr. de Mendoza, Bishop of Bruges, asked him to serve in his employ. Setting out for Spain in 1559, he was made secretary and librarian of the Cardinal, who charged him further with the task of translating into Latin certain passages of the Greek Fathers which he proposed to use in a work on which he was then employed. Upon the death of this prelate in 1566, Vulcanius fulfilled the same functions for his brother, Ferdinand de Mendoza, archdeacon of Toledo. In 1570 he returned to Bruges for his father's burial, subsequently retiring to Cologne, then Bâle, later Geneva, constantly in search of a place where the absence of war would provide him with the tranquillity so necessary for his work. Finally choosing Antwerp as his

1. For information on the life of Vulcanius, cf. Biographie Universelle (Michaud), Tome Quarante-Quatrième, pp.169-70, and Dictionnaire Historique et Critique de Pierre Bayle, Tome Quatorzieme, Paris, 1820, pp.523-5.

residence, he was named rector of the school of that city, Appointed professor of Greek at the Academy of Leyden in 1578, he assumed these new duties two years later and held the chair with distinction for thirty two years. He died at Leyden in October 1614, having amassed during his lifetime, through questionable means, a remarkable collection of books.

Vulcanius edited during his lifetime an outstanding array of Greek and Latin works among which were the Origines of Iisdore, Fulgentius, Martianus Capella and Jordanes' History of the Goths. He had promised to publish all the Greek works of Cyril, but never fulfilled that promise.¹

He numbered among his friends such men as the following: Franciscus Junius, Josephus Scaliger, Justus Lipsius,

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1. Scultet (Bayle, op.cit., Vol. XIII, p. 209 ff.) professor of theology at Heidelberg and author of several books, among which was an analysis of the writings of the Fathers, entitled Medulla Patrum, tells of this in speaking of the learned men whom he had met in Leyden in 1618: Quem (Bonaventuram Vulcanium) senem admodum sellae affixum, et manibus pedibusque captum inveni. Promiserat ille triginta quatuor annis ante, editionem omnium operum graecorum Cyrilli hactenus a multis desideratam: hanc cum frustra hactenus singulis propemodum nudinis expectassem, et jam coram hominis aetatem valetudinemque perditam considerarem, petii ab eo, ut Cyrillum Graecum fidei meae concredere (sic): me non solum operam daturum; ut ex ipsius voto ille in vulgus exiret, sed etiam de codicis precio ipsi satisfactorum: At ille gratiis pro officio actis, tantum adhuc virium sibi superesse aiebat ut ipsemet promisso se exsolvere possit: usque adeo verum est, neminem esse tam senem, qui, non dico diem, sed annos supervivere se posse, speret". Quoted by Bayle, op.cit., Vol. XIV.

Franciscus Modius, Janus Gruter, Franciscus Pithoeus,
¹
 P. Labbaeus and Carolus Labbaeus.

In 1597 Vulcanius published two anonymous commentaries of importance to the history of palaeography, one of which was entitled De Literis et Lingua Gedarum, Sive Gothorum, and the other, De Notis Lombardicis.² Vulcanius prefaced both works with a treatise of his own about the Gothic language "de qua nihil fere literarum monumentis proditum comperio",³ except those Gothic letters which Joannes Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala, had shown in his history of the Goths. That man had testified that there were extant burial stones which had been erected either before the flood or a little after, on which had been placed inscriptions written in those letters. Thus, it is likely, Vulcanius feels, that long before the invention of Latin letters and even before Carmenta had come with Evander from Greece to the mouth of the Tiber

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1. Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius pendant son séjour a Cologne, Genève et Bale (1573-77). Publié et Annotée par H. de Vries de Heekelingen, La Haye, 1923.
 2. De Literis et Lingua Gedarum, Sive Gothorum, Item De Notis Lombardicis. Quibus Accesserunt Specimina variarum linguarum. Editore Bon. Vulcanio Brugensi. Lugdun-Batavorum, Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1597.
 3. Ibid., fol. 2^r: "...praeterquam quod Joannes Magnus Gothus, Archiepiscopus Upsalensis, Literas Geticas nobis exhibuit, quarum formis eximiae magnitudinis saxa veterum bustis ac specubus affixa apud Gothos insculpta extare testatur, quae vel ante diluvium, vel paulo post Gigant-ea virtute ibi erecta fuerint; adeo ut verisimile sit longe ante inventas literas Latinas, et antequam Carmenta e Graecia ad ostia Tiberis et Romanorum solum cum Evandro pervenisset, ...gentem illam rudem mores et literas docuisset, Getas literas suas habuisse."

to teach the unlettered inhabitants, the Getae had their own letters. This, Vulcanius believes, although, as he says, he has no other authority for it.¹ But acceptance of this theory forces him to question both Socrates (Ecclesiasticae Historiae, lib.4, c.27), who wrote that Ulfilas, the Bishop of the Goths, invented Gothic letters, and also the following verses on the authors and inventors of letters:

Moyses Hebraeas primus exaravit literas,
 Mente Phoenices sagaci condiderunt Atticas:
 Quas Latini scriptitamus edidit Nicistrata.
 Abraham Syras, et idem repperit Chaldaicas.
 Isis arte non minore protulit Aegyptias.
 Gulfilas promisit Getarum quas videmus ultimas.

Even Jordanes (Vulcanius consistently calls him Jornandes) in his History of the Goths subscribed to the Ulfilan theory, but Vulcanius, with all due respect to these authors, feels that Getic letters were used by the Goths long before the coming of Gulfilas. Gulfilas (for thus Jordanes called him) merely made these letters known to the Romans for the first time, for he was the man who translated the Bible into the Gothic language. Moreover, a very old copy of this ms., written in large Gothic letters, now

1. Ibid., fol.2r: "Quod quidem ut pro certo affirmare non possum (neque enim ullum ejus rei authorem habeo) ex eo tamen satis liquere potest, quod Getae etiam ante Romam conditam heroum suorum res praeclare gestas carmine conscriptas ad tibiam cecinerint."

lies neglected, he hears, in some library in Germany. Very many of these Getic letters, Vulcanius continues, are similar to those of the Greeks, because the Getae had settled on the seacoast of Moesia where there were Greek colonies.

Concerning this language of the Getae there have come to my hand, Vulcanius says, certain books salvaged from the ruin of Belgian libraries - two brief commentaries written by a man of unknown identity. The first of these concerns itself with the characters and pronunciation of the Getic language, and the other with Lombardic Notes, which, the author testifies, he has taken from a certain very old ms. called "Argenteus".² It was the opinion of the author that Lombardic was the vernacular of the Italians, but that it was written "barbaricis characteribus", and that

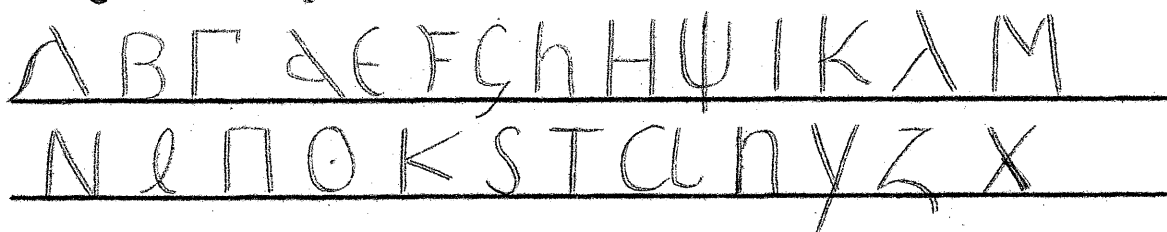
- 11 Ibid., fol. 2^v, sq.: "Socrates Ecclesiasticae Historiae lib. 4, c. 27 Ulphilam Gothorum Episcopum literas Gothicas invenisse scribit quod ipsum testantur versus Trochaici antiqui qui de authoribus inventoribusque variarum literarum circumferuntur, qui sic habent:..... Gulfilam vero hunc scribit etiam Jornandes...Gothicis literas dedisse...Ego vero, pace horum authorum, Geticarum literarum usum apud Getas longe ante Gulfilae tempora viguisse existimaverim; sed per Gulfilam Romanis primum innotuisse; quippe qui in linguam Gothicam Biblia sacra converterit; cuius exemplar ms. idque vetustissimum Gothicis literis maioribus scriptum in aliqua Germania Bibliotheca dilitescere audio."
2. Ibid., fol. 3^v: "De hac Getarum lingua pervenerunt ad me veluti lacerae quaedam tabulae e publico Belgicarum Bibliothecarum naufragio Commentarioli docti cuiusdam Viri anonymi, quorum priore agitur de eius characteribus et pronuntiatione: altera vero, De Notis Lombardicis quas ille se vetustissimo quodam Codice MS quem Argenteum nominat desumpsisse testatur."

these particular "notae" were used to teach Lombardic to the Gothic courtiers so that they might be able to converse with the princes of Italy.¹ This may be so, Vulcanius says, As far as he knows, there were two kinds of writing among the ancients; calligraphy for elegant writing and tachygraphy for swift writing. Many an author has testified about Tironian notes, their use and popularity.² "Lombardicae Notae" served the same purpose.

Vulcanius has great admiration for the author of these commentaries and feels that he is deserving of great praise for his ability to compare Getic letters with the letters of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages, to say nothing of the vulgar languages. Moreover, his skill in teaching the proper pronunciation and form of these Getic letters merits commendation.³

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1. Ibid., fol.6^r: "Alterius Commentarioli De Notis Lombardicis eundem, qui prioris authorem esse censuerim, qui quidem Lombardicum Italarum vernaculum sermonem, sed barbaricis characteribus scriptum fuisse existimat; usum vero harum Notarum fuisse, ut aulicos legatos, qui Gothi erant, Lombardice docerent, ut intra Italiam cum principibus Italiae possent perorare. Fides sit penes authorem."
 2. Ibid., fol.6^r: "Ego apud veteres duo scribendi genera usitata comperio, καλλιγραφίαν scilicet, quae ad sci-
te pingendum; ταχυγραφίαν, quae ad velociter scribendum."
 3. Ibid., fol.5^r: "Meretur certe ille quisquis fuit non exiguam laudem et gratiam, qui literarum Geticarum proprietatem, earumque ad recte pronuntiandum scribendumque dexteritatem, qua cum Hebraea, Graeca, et Latina, ne dum cum aliis vulgaribus linguis facile pedem conferre potest, eruditis suis animadversionibus illustrare voluit."















Thus far the preface of Vulcanius. Then follow the two commentaries. In the first we see reproduced the following Gothic alphabet:¹


















This he gives with the corresponding forms of the Latin alphabet.² Observe, he says, that the Goths have no "x" but use in its place "ks".³ Note also the difference between A (a) and A (l),⁴ and that between K and K, that is "k" and "r". Following this, our anonymous author gives several sections on the pronunciation of each of the letters.

The second commentary, De Notis Lombardicis, contains several interesting stenographic symbols, such as the following:

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1. Compare this with the so called Gothic alphabet of Garibay, supra, p.161.
 2. Ibid., p.1. "a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, eta, th, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, y, z, ch." Apparently the author of the commentary is slightly confused, for his two alphabets would indicate that Gothic Psi is Latin "th", although Greek Psi would be "psi".
 3. Ibid., p.1: "'x' non habent, sed eius loco 'ks' utuntur. Observa differentiam in- A ter i.e. 'a', et A."
 4. Ibid., p.2: "Observa autem et differentiam inter K et K illud 'K' est, hoc 'R'."

	super		adque
	insuper		sedsi
	subter		nam
	me		tam
	nec		etiam
	neque		etiamsi
	cum		mecum

These notae were followed in the ms. by abbreviated forms of the names of the Roman emperors, some examples of which¹ are:

	Magestas		Galba
	Caesarium		Otho
	Claudius		Vitellius
	Clodius		Titus
	Tiberius		Traianus
	Nero		Adrianus
	Nero cesset		Antoninus
	Germanicus		

At the end of the ms. were inscribed the names of cities with these symbols:²

	Neopolo		Capua
	Baiiae		Meseni

1. *Ibid.*, p.27: "Hinc post tria folia inveni Imperatorum Romanorum nomina, quae asscribere libuit."
2. *Ibid.*, p.30: "Sub finem autem, quod et Campanus monuit, habet nomina civitatum Italicarum, his ferme figuris."

Vulcanius affixes to the two commentaries the Lord's Prayer, the Magnificat and the Canticle of Simeon, all in the Gothic language. After these, he gives some Gothic alphabets, gathered from various sources, (pp.43-6), then a specimen of the old Teutonic language (p.54), some words from that language (p.65 ff.), followed by a specimen of the ancient "Saxon" language which, he says, the English used one thousand years ago. The work is concluded with extracts from various other languages; Persian, Cantabrian, Frisian and Islandic.

Thus Vulcanius, although more a philologist than a palaeographer, yet should not be overlooked in a history of palaeography since he is the first of our group to use the term "Gothica" correctly. To him "Gothica" meant the Gothic language and script as used by Ulfilas; it did not refer to the Visigothic script. Indeed, we look in vain for another author before Junius (1665) who will use this designation properly. To all others "Gothica" means the Visigothic Script, and that, as they thought, invented by Ulfilas.

Outstanding among this latter group, and yet to be commended because of his careful study of the script of Spain, is the Spaniard, Bernardo Jose Aldrete. A scholar

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1. Cf. Diccionario Enciclopédico Salvat. Segunda Edición, Tomo I, Barcelona, Salvat Editores, S.A., 1934, p.552, and Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano de Literatura, Ciencias Artes. Tomo Primero, Barcelona, 1887, p.872.

of the first rank, Aldrete was born in Malaga in 1565 and died in 1645. A master of the Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabic, Latin, French and Italian languages, and canon of the Cathedral of Cordova, he was proclaimed one of the most learned men of his time. Most important among his works is the one which we are going to discuss, entitled Del Origen Y Principio De La Lengua Castellana, which was printed first¹ in Rome in 1606 and later in Madrid in 1674.

In Book II, Chapter XVIII Aldrete gives a much detailed² analysis of the origin of the Spanish script, which in summation amounts to the following. There were, according to him, three stages of writing in Spain, each stage being used in its own particular time. (1) A Pre-Roman script, that is, the script used by the Spaniards before the arrival of the Romans in the Iberian peninsula, a script which

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1. Del Origen Y Principio De La Lengua Castellana o Romance que oy se usa en España Compuesto Por El Doctor Bernardo Aldrete, Madrid, 1674.
 2. After an introduction in which he advances the idea that a conquering nation is wont to impose its language and script upon the conquered, with the subsequent loss of the original language and script, Aldrete says (fol. 57r): "...con la qual los que reciben nueva lengua, tambien la letra, con que se escribe, y si la piden, tambien los caracteres propios della. Y assi se perdió la letra de España con la lengua, y libros: de lo qual viene, que aunque devemos muy bien creer que no era letra Latina la que los Españoles usavan en sus libros, de los quales haze memoria Strabon, pero como se perdió la lengua, y ellos, y la letra juntamente. En las monedas antiguas de España se hallan algunas con letras no conocidas, que se conjetura bien que sea la letra antigua que se usó en ella antes de la venida de los Romanos..."

is evident in old coins, two samples of which he then gives.

They are as follows:

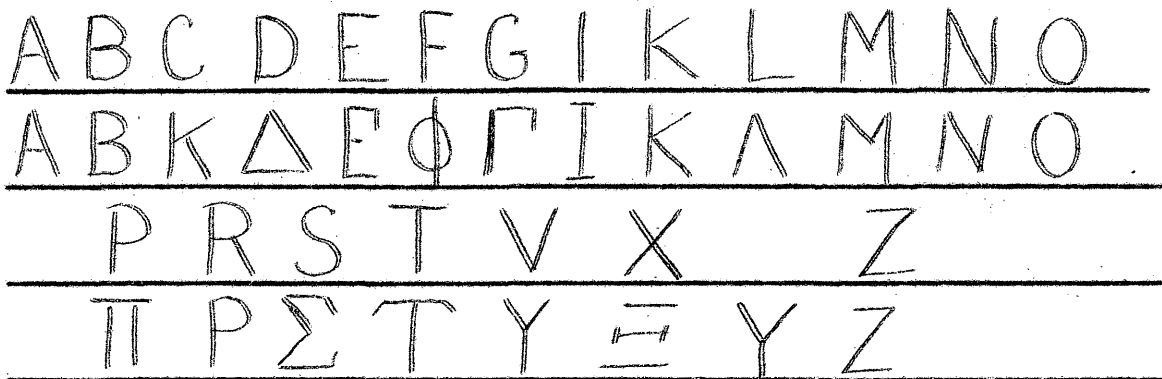
INΨ<Y<N <ΛYK

(2) The Roman majuscule script,¹ imported by the Romans together with their language and dominion to affect a complete surrender of the conquered Spanish people. Samples of this capital or majuscule script are found in innumerable stone inscriptions, dating back to the early Romans, and scattered throughout Spain, Italy and France. The letters of this script are very similar to ancient Greek letters, having been derived from them through the efforts of Evander (cf. Livy, Lib. I). This similarity has been remarked by both

1. Ibid., fol. 57r: "La letra Latina parece conforme a lo que dize Tito Livio, que tuvo su origen de la Griega, enseñandola la Evandro... Si est no es leve argumento, quantos de estos ay en España de piedras de aora mil y seiscientos, y mas antiguas, escritas por Españoles con letras Latinas, que pueden testificar con mayor numero la mudança de Republica con nueva fundacion, y establecimientos de leyes, y fueros y nuevo modo de hablar, para el qual era menester nueva letra.

Poro es de advertir que la letra que usaron los Romanos, no fue de la forma de esta con que aora scrivimos, sino de las mayusculas, o capitales que ponemos en principios de clausulas, y nombres propios... Testigos de esto son las piedras antiguas de tiempo de Romanos, que con ser casi innumerables las que se hallan en España, Italia, y Francia, todas estan escritas de estas letras mayores, lo mismo en las tablas de metal, que son hartas, y todas escritas en esta letra... De lo con claridad consta, que las letras Latinas no eran otras que las mayores, o capitales que he dicho, porque confiriendo las antiguas Griegas con las mayusculas se ve como es muy poquita la diferencia."

Pliny (VII, 56) and Tacitus (Annales II), who has said, "Formae literis Latinis quae veterrimis Graecorum", and may be seen clearly by a comparison of the two alphabets, which Aldrete then reproduces thus:



Moreover, he adds, Latin books, written more than a thousand years ago, however long they may be, all from beginning to end were written in this form of script. Former writers have confirmed this fact, among them Angelo Politian,² who mentioned three such books; (a) the Pandecta of Justinian,

1. Ibid., fol.57v: "...pero lo que lo hazemas sin duda es, que los libros antiguos escritos mas ha de mil años, por grandes que sean, todos desde el principio al fin, estan escritos con esta forma de letra. De tres hazemencion Angelo Policiano, cuyas palabras referirè por gusto delque esto leyerè. (Libr.Miscellan.c.41) "Atqui volumen ipsum Iustiniani Digestorum, seu Pandectarum dubio procul archetypum, in ipsa curia Florentina a summo Magistratu publice adservatur, magnaue veneratione, quamquam raro id, etiam ad funalia ostenditur. Est autem liber...maioribus characteribus, nullis intervallis dictionum, nullis item compendariis notis, quibusdam etiam, saltim in praefatione...". El otro es Vergilio que esta en la biblioteca Vaticana, y el 3 un Comentario de Tiberio Donato 'grandioribus notatum vetustis characteribus' (Cap.71 & 72)".
2. Cf. infra, p.292.

(C.L.A., 295) written in majuscules and preserved now in the Florentine Library; (b) a Vergil now in the Vatican Library (Vat. 3867, Romanus), and (c) a commentary of Tiberius Donatus "grandioribus notatum vetustis characteribus",¹ (Laur. Ms. 45.15).

(3) The Ulfilan or the Gothic Script. When the Goths invaded Spain, they destroyed, Aldrete says, the Latin language and script, (that is, the script of the second stage), and as a result, Ulfilas, or Gulfilas, taught the inhabitants a new script, called Gothic.² This is the script, he says, which was referred to by Isidore, when he said: "Tunc quoque Gulfilas Gothorum Episcopus ad instar Graecarum literarum Gothis repperit literas". The letters of this Ulfilan script were just as similar to the modern Greek as the Roman script was to the ancient Greek. This is the type character that was used in Spain in all books,

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1. Aldrete himself must not have seen these three mss., for he would have realized the differences in them, for while the first two, the Pandecta of Justinian (C.L.A. 295) and the Vatican Vergil (Vat.3867) are written in Roman majuscules, the former in 6th century uncial and mixed half uncial, and the latter in 6th century Rustic Capitals, the third ms., the commentary of Donatus, a Laurentian ms. 45.15, is assigned to the 9th century and though mistakenly called Lombardic (i.e., Beneventan) by some palaeographers, it is actually, on Lowe's authority (The Beneventan Script, p.28, n.1), Insular.
 2. Aldrete here seems to be laboring under the mistaken idea that Ulfilas taught the Goths this new script in Spain, whereas actually Ulfilas never was in Spain, having confined his work to Constantinople.

privileges and written documents for five hundred years up to the time of King Alonso VI, who prohibited its use and ordered that the Francesca litera be substituted for it.¹

This fact Aldrete bases on the following quotation from the aforementioned Archbishop Rodrigo: (Lib. 6, c.30)

Cumque ducerent eum legionem, prout praeceperat, a sororibus et pontificibus, qui convenerant ibidem, regio funere est sepultus, anno decimo sexto Aera millesima centesima decima septima. Et interfuit Renerius legatus et Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalis. Ibidemque celebrato Concilio, cum Bernardo Toletano primate multa de officiis Ecclesiae statuerunt, et etiam de caetero omnes scriptores omissa litera Toletana, quam Gulfilas Gothorum Episcopus adinvenit Gallicis literis uterentur.

The reason for this change, Aldrete continues, was the insistence of Pope Gregory VII that the Spanish people

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1. Ibid., fol.58^v: "Pero como los Godos con su venida estragaron la lengua Latina tambien la letra, porque como dixe, estas dos cosas andan entre si muy hermanadas. La ocasion desto fue, que Ulfilas, ó Gulfilas...Obispo de los Godos, les enseñó una nueva letra ó el invento, que llamaron Gotica, de lo qual haze memoria S.Isidoro en la Chronica breve que escribió de los Godos (Era 415), donde dixe: 'Tunc Gulfilas eorum Episcopus Gothicas literas adinvenit.'...La forma de las letras que Ulfilas enseñó la dize S.Isidoro (In Chronico in Valentiniano, in noviss. Isidori editione) por estas palabras: 'Tunc quoque Gulfulas Gothorum Episcopus ad instar Graecarum literarum Gothis repperit literas.'" de suerte que la letra que invento Ulfilas, fue como la letra Griega que yo entiendo la moderna, como la Latina era semejante a la letra antigua Griega. Esta es la letra Gotica, ó Toledana que se usava antiguamente en Espana, y de ella ay muchos libros escritos en librerias antiguas. Porque todos los libros, privilegios, y otras escrituras de quinientos annos atras, son desta letra Gotica: lo qual, demas de desir lo assi el arcobispo Don Rodrigo, y la Historia general de Espana...Esta letra se recibio generalmente en Espana, hasta el tiempo del Rey Don Alonso el Sexto que-gano a Toledo, en cuyo tiempo se prohibio el uso de ella, mandando que, se usasse la Francesa..."

abandon the Mozarabic breviary and missal, which they had used for four hundred years, and adopt the Roman. In fact, the Pope wrote several documents to the king, one of which stated: "Romanae Ecclesiae ordinem, et officium recipiatis, non Toletanae, vel cuiuslibet aliae, sed istius."¹

So that you may know, Aldrete says, the characters of this proscribed Ulfilan script, I have reproduced for you an extract from the book of Alvarus.² An alphabet taken from that specimen is as follows:

a b c d e f g g i L m n o p q r r a u u

A line of script looks somewhat like this:

Dum a febulu gonib uulidifimixom

1. Ibid., fol.59r: "la causa desta mudanca de letra, si bien no se declara, entiendo que fue: Que como el Rey Don Alonso a instancia del Papa Gregorio Septimo, con gran repugnancia de sus vasallos, avia hecho recibir el breviario, y Missal Romano, quitando el Toledano que avia mas de quatrocientos annos que se rezava en España desde el quarto Concilio de Toledo, sobre lo qual el Papa escrivió diversas cartas al Rey, que oy se leen entre las suyas, (Libr. I, Epi.64 et 83, et Lib.9, Ep.2) en una de las quales dize: 'Romanae Ecclesiae ordinem, et officium recipiatis, non Toletanae, vel cuiuslibet aliae, sed istius'."
2. Ibid., fol.59r: "Desde aquel tiempo cesô la letra Gotica, de la qual me ha parecida poner un pedaco, sacado del libro de Alvaro..."

These ligatures and abbreviations may also be found:

<u>ea</u>	et	<u>erem</u>	erem
<u>er</u>	er	<u>ted</u>	ted
<u>telisque</u>	telisque	<u>Spiritus</u>	Spiritus

Thus an examination of this facsimile, which Aldrete calls Gothic or Ulfilan, reveals all the essential qualities of the Visigothic script; the 'a', a, the 'g', g, the 't', t, unassibilated 'ti' ti, abbreviations, and frequent ligatures of 'e' with the following letter.

Thus Aldrete in this third section has been discussing the Visigothic script, erroneously assigning its origin to Ulfilas, correct only in indicating its approximate duration and use, although even in this he is inconsistent. For, if this script was, as he says, invented by Ulfilas, (4th century), and if it was proscribed, as we know, by the Council of Leon (late 11th century), then how can he reconcile this with his own two statements, one of which said that this was the script used in all books written in Spain for five hundred years, ("Porque todos los libros, privilegios y otras escrituras de quinientos años atras, son desta letra Gotica") and the other differing from this, viz., that the Spanish were ordered to cease using the Mozarabic Missal that had been in use for more than four

hundred years? Four hundred years before 1117 (cited above in the quotation from Rodrido) would have brought him not to the fourth century but to the early eighth century, which is the date, we know, of the earliest Visigothic mss.¹

Yet despite these inconsistencies, Book II, Chapter XVIII of Aldrete's Del Origen Y Principio De La Lengua Castellana, while not furnishing us with the first facsimile of Visigothic script (Garibay had already done that), yet produced the first description of what was considered by its author as the origin of the script used in Spain up to the year 1117. Furthermore, Aldrete's work on the Visigothic script was utilized by Mabillon, which fact in itself merits for it, despite its lack of complete accuracy, a leading place in the history of palaeography.

2

Mabillon in his *De Re Diplomatica*, in listing those who had made any contribution to the study of the *Scriptura Lombardica*, i.e. Beneventana, mentions the opinion of one Scioppius.³ This same man is credited by Le Clerc with

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1. Cf. A.M. Carlo, op.cit., pp.142-50.
 2. De Re Diplomatica, I, XI, 8: "Scioppius etiam in libro de re critica veteres libros caractere passim Langobardico scriptos esse existimat."
 3. Joannis Clerici Ars Critica, Vol. Secundum, Editio Secunda, Amsterdam, 1700, Part III, section I, "De Emendatione" p. 49: "Gaspar Scioppius, cui debemus, ex parte dispositionem hujusce Sectionis Criticae nostrae, animadvertit in Critica sua..."

having furnished him with a part of the data with which he illustrated his section on "Emendation of Codices". But despite the approval of both these scholars, the work of Schoppe, as viewed now, actually contributed but little to the knowledge of palaeography.

1

Kaspar Schoppe, a theologian and scholar, was born at Neumarch May 27, 1576 and died at Padua November 19, 1649. After having studied ancient languages, he journeyed to Italy where he obtained the favor of Pope Clement VIII and abandoned protestanism. He subsequently wrote a number of treatises in favor of his new religion and several of great violence in which he attacked his former correligionists, sparing neither Henry IV nor James I of England. Widely travelled, he was in Germany in 1608, Spain in 1613, Italy in 1617 and in 1630 in Ratisbon whither he came to solicit from the Diet a pension for his services to the Church. That demand being refused, he turned with vengeance and violence against the Jesuits who, he thought, were hostile to him, thus leaving upon his death in 1649 a name which was detested among both Catholics and Protestants.

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1. For information on his life, cf. La Grande Encyclopédie, Tome 29, Paris, Société Anonyme de la Grande Encycl., p.776; Encyclopédie Universelle du XX^e Siècle, Tome XI, Paris, Librairie Nationale, 1908, p.233; Bayle, op.cit., Vol.XIII, pp.185-207.

A diligent worker, he edited Varro, Apuleius, Symmachus and a great number of notes and commentaries on Latin writers, publishing in all one hundred and four works. Principal among these were: Verisimilium libri IV, in quibus multa veterum scriptorum loca emendantur, augentur, et illustrantur (Nuremburg 1595 - Amsterdam 1662); De arte Critica, etc. (Nuremburg 1595 - Amsterdam 1662); Elementa Philosophiae Stoicae Moralis (Mayence 1606) and Scaliger Hypobolymoeus, a violent satire directed against Scaliger, (Mayence, 1707).

The work to which both Mabillon and Le Clerc claimed¹ indebtedness was the De Arte Critica, and thus this will be discussed here. The purpose of the book is clearly explained in the preface which Schoppe affixes to the work. Very often, he begins, there have been heard the complaints of learned men about the rashness and juvenile audacity of some people who, though aided by no ancient mss., have attempted to impose their own corrections on the works of the authors, and have proposed not what the individual author had written but rather what they felt he should have written. Because of this, the founders of the Latin tongue

1. Gasparis Scioppi, Franci, De Arte Critica; et praecipue, de altera ejus parte emendatrice, Quanam ratio in Latinis scriptoribus...ingenio emendandis observari debeat; Commentariolum. Amstelodami Apud Judocum Pluymer, MDCLXII.

have been so interpolated and changed that, if they were to come back, they would scarcely recognize the vestiges of their own works. I have always thought, Schoppe continues, that it would be very useful to those who have this incurable itch to correct and interpolate without basis, if those experienced in emendation and collation of the best mss. should point out to them the ways in which errors have been made in these best mss. I hoped that by a recital of these errors these reckless correctors would be warned of the sources of mistakes in mss. Communicating my feelings on this to my very scholarly friends, I found out, he says, that they were in agreement with me, and they encouraged me to undertake the task myself by gathering together into one book all the incorrect readings from Symmachus and Plautus, as collated by me from the best mss., thereby offering for the public benefit what had been up to that time of use to me alone.

After such sound and sage statements and after his criticism of the "juvenili audacia" of some editors, it comes as quite a shock to read his next remark:

Plerique autem mirabuntur, me hominem tam adolescentem, et necdum vigesimum et primum aetatis annum supergressum, adde, non etiam toto quadrennio in hoc politioris literaturae studio versatum... tamquam hominem repentinum, prodire, aliosque artem omnium periculosissimam et cum primis odiosam edocere velle.

Previous statements in which he proclaimed with arrogance his own experience with mss., though only twenty one

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 years of age, furnish us with an insight into the early character of the man who later took up upon himself to enter into violent diatribes against such great scholars as Scaliger and Casaubon.

There is nothing to emendation, Schoppe says, save indicating the manner in which a ms. has been corrupted. Mistakes in mss. arise in either Letters, Syllables, or Words. If the error lies in individual words, it must be examined to see whether this is based on a corruption of the letter appearing in the original ms. or through an omission of a

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1. Ibid., "Scioppii Praefatio ad Lectorem": "Saepius jam audita sunt hominum doctissimorum querelae de non nullorum temeritate et plusquam juvenili audacia; qui nullis omnino libris veteribus adjuti, passim in omnes scriptores grassati sunt, eorum correctiones et in integrum restitutiones, admodum thrasonice promiserunt, potiusque quid auctor aliquis, horum judicio scribere debuerit, quam quid scripserit, proposuerunt. Quo factum tandem, ut adeo saepe veteres Latinae linguae conditores interpolati et depravati fuerint, ut, si forte reviviscerent, vix quaedam operum suorum vestigia in operibus suis agnitiuri essent. His tamen, quos illud corrigendi vel interpolandi cacoethes nullis manuscriptis instructos tenet, utile futurum semper existimavi, si ab iis, qui, optimorum manuscriptorum usu, et cum impressis comparatione, rationem emendandi paullo certiore didicerunt, quomodo etiam in optimis quibusque libris peccatum fuerit, ostenderetur. Quorum repetitione hoc consecuturum speravi, ut, quamvis illi scriptos libros nullos inspexissent, his tamen exemplis admoniti viderent, quo quidque modo depravari potuerit. Quod ubi quis vidit, ibi demum omnis emendandi ratio in proclivi est. Quod quum jam diu sensissem et de ipso hoc sensu meo cum amicis meis viris doctissimis communicassem; omnes uno ore auctores mihi fuerunt, ut hanc in me provinciam susciperem, et mendosas lectiones ex Symmacho et Plauto me ...in unum colligerem; et quae jam mihi soli usui essent, cum pluribus porro communicarem."

letter, or through their transposition.¹ Lack of familiarity with the letters of an ancient script would lead to a misinterpretation of those letters by a later scribe or copyist. For the ancient Romans, he says, did not use these minuscules which we now use, but rather "majusculis...et cubitalibus A, B, C", in which letters all the oldest mss. have been written. Some books, though, used these Roman letters only at the beginning of verses or sentences. But the shape of these letters would lead to much confusion,

1. Ibid., p.38:

Emendandi Ratio est vel in

- 1) Literis ubi videndum, numquae
 - a) corrupta e vera. Quod factum occasione
 - 1) Dictationis
 - 2) Scriptionis; vel
 - a) Romanae et veteris
 - b) Langobardicae et novae.
 - 3) omissa; idque similiter ratio
 - 1) Dictantis
 - 2) Scribentis ejusque vel
 - a) Neglegentis, ignavi.
 - b) Characterum similitudine decepti.
- 2) Syllabis si forte
 - a) Corrupta
 - b) Omissa
 - c) Supervacanea
 - d) Transposita.
- 3) Verbis, utrum
 - a) Corrupta in
 - 1) Dissimilia, sive tota. Quo et abbreviationes pertinent.
 - 2) Similia, vel per partes, in
 - a) Principio
 - b) Medio
 - c) Fine
 - b) Omissa
 - c) Supervacua. Quo et glossae pertinent.
 - d) Conjugenda, vel disjungenda...
 - e) Transponenda.

the source of which in some instances is quite evident. Thus there is the interpretation of C for G (prodicia pro prodigia), F for E (frigit pro erigit), F for D (delicare pro dedicare).¹ Thus far Schoppe is correct, but other errors included by him in this listing would scarcely arise from a similarity of the written letters as seen in the two Capital scripts or even the uncial. Such would be E for O (Apello pro Apollo), O for AV (oricula pro auricula), or B for V. These could be attributed to similarity in sound, but not in shape.

So much for Schoppe's discussion of the Roman script. Now let us consider his remarks concerning the "scriptionis Langobardicae". All those books which exist today in the libraries, which were not written in the majuscule and Roman type of character, were instead (and here we are forced to doubt Schoppe's own knowledge of scripts) executed in "literis Langobardicis et minoribus, vulgo vere hodieque usitatis".² What Schoppe's idea of the "literae

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1. Ibid., p.39: "Romani non his minutioribus, quibus nunc utimur, literis utebantur, sed maiusculis illis et cubitalibus, A, B, C &c, iisque literis omnium vetustissima manuscripta exarata sunt. Alii libri non nisi initio versuum vel periodorum Romanis literis illis grandibus utuntur. Earum non multae commutationes hae fere sunt."
 2. Ibid., p.41: "Plerique omnes, qui hodie in bibliothecis existunt, libri calamo exarati, non majusculo illo, et Romano characterum genere, sed literis Langobardicis et minoribus, vulgo vere hodieque usitatis, perscripti sunt. Eadem scriptura multis saepe compendiis sive abbreviationibus utebantur."

Langobardicae" was, there is no way of knowing, for he does not reproduce an alphabet of the script. But if to him, it was similar to that used in his own day (the 16th century), he was certainly making an error. Certainly the "a" and "t" of 16th century script were not Beneventan. Moreover, he continues, and here correctly, that same script (the Beneventan) made use of many ligatures and abbreviations which would of necessity lead to error.

Then just as with the Roman script, he lists the confusing elements of the Beneventan. And in proof of each of his statements he runs through the alphabet, itemizing and illustrating by examples from the mss. of Plautus and Symmachus instances in which the various letters of the alphabet were mistakenly transcribed by the copyists. Beginning with the letter "a", he says that it has often been written for "d", e.g., "avorum pro duorum"; for "e", "potasse pro potesse"; for "o", "solaci filio pro soloci filio"; and for "u", "amor pro humor".¹

Now anyone familiar with the script of Beneventan mss. will have to admit that there is no similarity and thus no cause for confusion between the letters "a" and "d", "a" and "e", "a" and "o", or "a" and "u". If he had been discussing Visigothic, the possibility of confusing "a" and "u" (u and u) would have to be admitted, but Beneventan

1. Ibid., pp.41-2.

"a" (cc) certainly does not look like Beneventan "u" (u).
 Rather Beneventan "a" could be taken for a double "c", but this source of confusion does not appear in Schoppe's list. For the letter "c" is written sometimes for "d", (cum pro dum); for "g" (offensis parcas pro offensi spargas); for "q" (pro commodo lego quomodo); for "s", (incipisce... pro incipisse); for "t" (saepissime, ita ut internoscere has literas nequeas scriptura Langobardica); for "v" and for "x". In addition "ci"¹ is written for d, (Lucio pro Ludo), and "cl" for "d". This last ("cl" for "d") is a confusion which would arise in any script including those of the 20th century. Thus as is seen with the above treatment of the letter "c", Schoppe lists confusions some of which can not be limited to the Beneventan script, while others can scarcely be assigned to any script, ancient or modern. Only his remark about "c" and "t" bears some weight, although even in this instance a well formed Beneventan "t" (tl) bears only slight resemblance to "c".

The letter "d", Schoppe says, has been often written for "a", "b", "c", "cl", "e", "h", "l", "n", "ol", "pl", "t" and "x",² while "e" has been mistakenly written for "a", "c", "f", "i", "o", "t", and "u".³ "g" has been transcribed for "c", "ch", "qu",⁴ and "t", and "l" has been

1. Ibid., pp.43-4.

2. Ibid., p.44.

3. Ibid., pp.45-6.

4. Ibid., p.47.

taken for "b", "d", "h", "i" (Scriptura Langobardica nulla¹ est inter literas diversitas) and "t". Certainly Schoppe errs in saying that Beneventan "t" could be taken for "i" and "l".

The following letters, "m", "n", "o", "p", and "q" also have been written incorrectly in place of others. As for "r", Schoppe says, that has been written for "d" (amagalibus pro amagalibus) for "n" (arte pro ante), for "s" (saepissime, ita ut non temere in mss. has duas literas internoscas) and for "t" (saepe, non minus quam pro "s". rectam pro tectam in Symm. Immo Langobardi nihil plane² inter "t" & "r" discriminis faciunt). The first of these statements, the confusion of "s" and "r" can be rightly assigned to almost every script but Capital and Uncial. With the latter statement to the effect that the 'Lombards' made no distinction between "t" and "r", no one will concur.

Continuing with the alphabet, he claims that "s" has been written wrongly for "c", for "e", for "i", for "l", for "p", for "r" (saepissime, quia nimis similes³ hae literae Langobardis), for "t", for "x" and for "z", while "t" has been written for "c" (saepe, nec mirum, quia eadem fere sunt literae. Casta in Symm. correxi casca.),

1. Ibid., p.50.

2. Ibid., pp.54-55.

3. Ibid., pp.55-56.

for "d", "e", "f", "h", "i", "l", "n", "p", "r", (saepissime¹ quia nimis similes invicem) "s", "x" and "z". "U" has been written for "i", "ic", "li", "n", "ni", "o" and "a" (Scaliger in Catull. testatur, caractere Langobardico nullam esse inter literas has differentiam).² This as has been said before would be almost true in Visigothic where the "a" is written u and the "u" u, but not in Beneventan.

These and others constitute in Schoppe's mind some of the contributing causes to corruption of letters in mss. The reader, however, cannot help but feel throughout the book that to Schoppe there were only two scripts, the old Roman and the "Langobardica", for as has been pointed out, confusions which could have arisen only from other scripts are assigned by him to what he calls "Langobardic". A transcription of his idea of these "literae Langobardicae" would have helped immeasurably in clearing up this difficulty, but possibly his idea of how each letter should be formed was so confused that it could not be transcribed within the scope of one letter. You look in vain for any mention of what are recognized today as the distinguishing characteristics of the Beneventan script. There is no reference to or even a hint of proclitic "t" (when the "t", leaning upon the following

1. *Ibid.*, pp.56-7.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.57-8.

letter, loses its normal form, "ta", "te", "ti" and "tu".) and there is no indication of his knowledge of the symbol t for "ul" (in the period of Beneventan maturity) or 3 for omitted "m". However, despite these defects, and there are many, Schoppe has at least made a serious attempt to list for the first time all in one place the confusing elements in scripts. Many scholarly editors before him had indicated here and there the fact that some letter had been erroneously written for another, but they, unlike Schöppe, had made no attempt to catalogue all these instances. That he made mistakes may be attributed to his own "juvenilis audacia" and lack of experience with mss., but that Mabillon and Le Clerc should place so much stock in what he had to say about the "Langobardic" script is hard to be explained, particularly by anyone who is able to draw on the fruits of almost three hundred years of steady progress in the field of palaeography since the time of Mabillon and Le Clerc.

Our next palaeographer, though born in Germany, yet spent most of his adult life in his adopted country, England. ¹ Franciscus Junius was born in Heidelberg in 1591, the son of that great theologian, Franciscus, a man renowned for

1. Francisci Junii Francisci Filii Etymologicum Anglicanum Autographo descripsit et accessionibus permultis auctum edidit Edwardus Lyle. Praemittuntur Vita Auctoris et Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica, Oxford, 1743.

his great erudition. In 1592, when his father was given the position of teacher of Sacred Literature at the Leyden Academy, the boy was taken to Belgium where he received his formal education. Having travelled throughout Gaul, he set out in 1620 for Britain, where he was "gratus ubique doctis et bonis omnibus propter ingenii doctrinaeque praestantiam, et morum temperatorum mirificam suavitatem". Captured by the charm of that country, he established his residence there, having been received into the family of the Count of Arundel and Surrey where he spent the next thirty years of his life. During this time there was an interchange of letters between him and such famous personages as Hugo Grotius, Claudius Salmasius and Gerhardus Joannes Vossius, to whom Junius' sister had been married.

While in England, he came across many old Anglo-Saxon books, which led him to a diligent study of that language. He later added to this a knowledge of all the ancient Northern languages, Gothic, Frankish, Islandic, Frisian and Runic, which experience led him to the conclusion that from these alone could be derived a proper understanding of the origin of many words now in use in the French, Spanish and Italian languages. For, he claimed, when the Goths, Vandals, Franks, Burgundians and Alemanni had occupied France, Spain and Italy, they brought along with them their own native

tongues, many vestiges of which still remain.¹ He devoted a great deal of his time to constructing Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, Cimbric and Gothic lexicons and Glossaries. After a two year stay at West Frisia, whither he had gone to study a dialect which he had heard was unintelligible to the other Belgians, he returned to Holland where he had the good fortune of obtaining that Gothic ms. which is called "Argenteus".² While he dedicated himself wholly to the transcription and clarification of this, he advanced so far in the knowledge of that unknown language that not long after he published this Gothic interpretation of the Gospel together with a Gothic Glossary, to which was added the Anglo-Saxon version of the Bible with the observations of Thomas Marshall. The Glossary, in which several words of the Codex Argenteus are explained and illustrated from cognate languages, was published by Junius

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1. Ibid., "Unde didicit ex illis solis multas etiam Francicae, Hispanicae, Italicae linguae, quo nunc illae gentes utuntur, vocum origines et propriam notionem erui posse. Nam Gothi, Vandali, Franci, Burgundi, Alamanni, cum fatisciente Romano imperio illas terras occupassent, sermonem patrium illis intulerunt, cujus multa supersunt etiam nunc non obscura vestigia, quae ab illo deprehendi possunt, qui non expers est veterum istarum linguarum."
 2. Ibid., "Codex est antiquissimus, atque in usum alicujus Principis aut Regis Gothici multo sumptu conscriptus, quantum ex literis argenteis et reliquo ornatu magnifico colligere licet. Et nisi me omnia fallant, fuit hic Codex ipsius Alarici Regis Tolosani, cujus regnum et regiam destruxit et spoliavit Chlodoveus an. 507. Custodia hujus pretiosissimi monumenti, et quovis thesauro potioris, tandem a Francorum Regibus Coenobio Werdinensi fuit demandata, ubi per multa secula delituit, Hodie adservatur Upsalae."

¹
in 1665. It is prefaced by a dedicatory poem written by
Janus Ulitius in praise of Junius, which reads in part:

Accipe, quae vigilata diu Tibi Junius orsa
Texuit, antiquae Religionis opus.
Accipe Suedorum matris primordia linguae,
Ulfila² qua Gotthos sacra docebat avos.

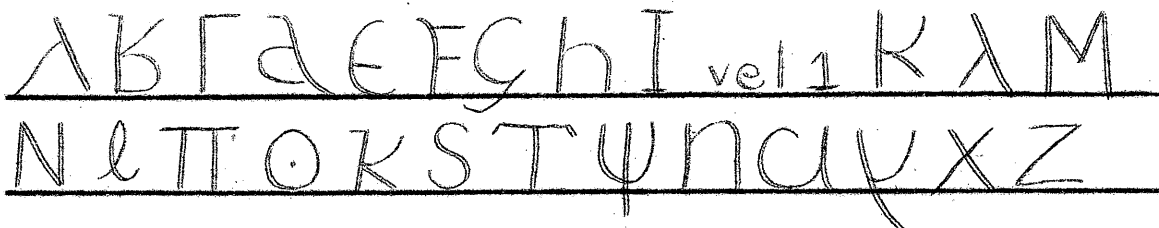
.....
Junius his chartis sensus Tibi pandet opertos,
Arcanas satagens enucleare notas.
Haec obiter. Potior fuit illi cura, Gothorum,
Ductaque per socias, lingua vetusta, decem.
Utque suo juvet ore patres audire loquentes,
Hic Tibi, quod potuit tradere nemo, potest,
Tentavere quidem magno conamine multi,
Nec tamen indocti, nec sine laude, viri.
Verum illos ratio, successus et ipse, fefellit:
Soli Juniadae palmae relictæ fuit.³

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1. Quatuor D.N.Jesu Christi Evangeliorum Versiones perantiquae duae, Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica. Quarum illam ex celeberrimo Codice Argenteo nunc primum depromsit Franciscus Junius FF. Hanc autem et codicibus MSS collatis emendatius recudi curavit Thomas Marechallus, Anglus: Cujus etiam Observationes in utranque Versionem subnectuntur. Accessit et Glossarium Gothicum: cui praemittitur Alphabetum Gothicum, Runicum, Anglo-Saxonicum, aliaque Alphabeta, opera ejusdem Francisci Junii. Dordrecht, 1665.
 2. As a footnote to the name Ulfilas, Janus says, "Sozomenus, Eccles.Hist.Lib.VI, cap.36 sub Theodosio Imp... et Jornandes Episcopus Ravennas...vocant hunc eorum 'Pontificem et Primatem, qui eis dicitur et literas instituisse.'" B.Isidorus...Aera CCCXV 'Tunc Gulfilas eorum Episcopus Gothicas literas condidit, et scripturas Novi ac Veteris Testamenti in eandem linguam convertit.' Walafridus Strabo, qui sub Ludovico Pio scripsit de Reb. Eccles. 'Ut historiae testantur, studiosi illius gentis (scil.Gotthorum) divinos libros in suae locutionis (quam eandem cum Theotisca facit) proprietatem transtulerunt; quarum adhuc Monumenta apud nonnullos habentur'; haud dubie de hoc Argenteo Codice loquens, ut ex reliquis patet."
 3. Ibid.

Junius himself, in his remarks to the reader, describes the circumstances under which he undertook the edition of the Codex Argenteus. The codex was brought to him, he says, and he was urged to work on it because the chancellor of the kingdom knew that he had spent a great deal of time in the study of script.¹ After having devoted a considerable portion of his life to the task, he is now ready to illustrate and edit the ms. The important result of his labor is the Gothic Glossary. Though I seem, he continues, to have traced several words to Greek sources, I would not want it to be understood that our ancestors drained the major part of their language from the Greeks, since it is more likely that the old Greek and Scythian, and also the Gothic, developing from the Scythian, came from the same common source.²

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1. "Lectori Benevolo Franciscus Junius FF. S.P. "...Ad manus meas perlatus est Argenteus codex, celeberrimum...Gothorum monumentum,...Magnus florentissimi regni Cancellarius ...praeclari Codicis editionem coepit urgere...De augusta interim specie ac majestate libri plurimis retro saeculis noti ac vetustate misere vexati, de mea itidem opera in consecrandis comprehendendisque tenuibus fugientium literarum apicibus concinnandoque glossario Gothico etc."
 2. Ibid., "Licet vero plurimas originationes videar ad fontes Graecos retulisse, non tamen hoc ita velim accipi, quasi potissimum linguae suae partem Patres nostri hauserint a Graecis; cum veritati magis videatur consentaneum veterem Graecam Scythiamque, nec non ipsam quoque Gothicam ex vetere Scythica provenientem, a communi aliqua origine promanasse, multique adeo viri longe doctissimi illam potius ex hac, quam hanc ex illa desumptam censeant."

The Codex Argenteus was written in the following twenty five letters:



And since antiquity, as far as he knows, has not handed down names for these letters, it is necessary for him to omit this phase and pass over to the "potestas" of each letter by comparing them with the characters of the Greek alphabet and other languages which, it is evident, were derived from the Gothic. From a comparison with the Greek, he repeats, because it is clear that several letters of the Gothic alphabet were taken from the Greek, and because by far the greatest part of the Gothic language has a certain affinity to the ancient Greek.¹

Junius then proceeds to go through the Gothic alphabet, giving the corresponding Latin letter and samples of the Gothic letters as used in words taken from the Codex Argenteus, e.g., Gothic K corresponds to the Latin "r",²

1. Glossarium Gothicum, p.1: "Praedictas quinque et viginti literas ita notat codex Argenteus...Et quoniam earum Nomina nusquam, quod sciam, tradidit Antiquitas, proximum est ut ab earum Notatione statim transeamus ad earum Potestatem investigandam ex collatione cum lingua Graeca nec non cum iis linguis quas ex Gothica traductas esse constat. Cum Graeca quidem: quod plerasque Gothici alphabeti Literas a Graecis petitas esse liqueat, quodque longe maxima sermonis Gothici pars variam quandam antiquae Graeciae dialectum prae se ferat."

2. Ibid., p.9: "K respondet Latino 'R'."

and RABBANEI = "Rabboni".

The confusion which existed then concerning the Gothic alphabet may be seen in the essay which preceded the Glossary, which is entitled Thomae Marechalli, Angli, Observationes de Versione Gothica. Socrates, Sozomenus, Nicephorus and others, the author says, attest that Ulphilas, Bishop of the Goths, was the inventor of Gothic letters and translated Holy Scripture into the language of the Goths during the reign of the Emperors Valentinian and Valens. But, I feel that it is necessary to remark, he adds, that alphabets are included under the name Gothic which some others have called Runic, and which I, because of my eyes, thought Hebraic; but these are clearly different from those letters which are used in the Codex Argenteus.¹ As far as I can see, the same thing seems to have happened to the Gothic script as has happened to the Coptic and Russian: viz, the characters of both of these were fashioned after the old form of the Greek alphabet, with the exception of a few which were taken from

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1. Quatuor D.N.Jesu Christi Evangeliorum Versiones, p.385: "Uphilam (qui et Ulphillas et Urphilas alias vocatur) Gothorum Episcopum, inventorem fuisse literarum Gothicarum, atque in linguam Gothorum S.Scripturas convertisse circa tempora Valentiniani et Valentis Imp. testantur Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomenus aliique...Sozomenum vero de hoc Gothorum Antistite sic legimus affirmantem, Eccles.Hist.Lib.VI, cap.37. Quem plane sequitur Nicephorus Callist.in Eccles.Hist.Lib.XI, Cap.48 aliique multi.....At vero, quod obiter notandum, Alphabeta cum nomine Gothicorum circumferuntur, quae potius Runica dixerunt alii, quaeque Judaeo fuisse ob oculos putavi: sed haec plane aliena sunt ab iis quae exhibet Cod.Argenteus."

elsewhere or which the artificers themselves devised to express sounds proper to their own speech.¹

Nothing purely Gothic has come to our hands except these Gospels, now edited for the first time, and even these deficient because of vast lacunae. The Codex Argenteus, in fact, is so old that he feels that the version contained therein is none other than the very ancient version of Ulfilas himself. Concurring in this opinion was James Usher who, in a letter to Junius, stated that the Gothic doxology to the Lord's Prayer, as reproduced in the Codex Argenteus, induced him to believe that this Gothic version of the New Testament was derived from a Greek source and transcribed from the original translation of Ulfilas.²

Now, as is evident from the characters shown on page 218, Junius' Gothic alphabet is certainly not Garibay's (p.161) and Aldrete's (p.200) Gothic alphabet (i.e. the

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1. Ibid., "Mihi sane scriptioni Gothicae idem accidisse videtur, quod Copticae et Moscoviticae: quarum singularum characteres effigiati fuerunt ad vetustiore Graecorum formam; praeter paucos, aut aliunde acceptos, aut quos ipsi artifices pro arbitrio excogitabant ad exprimendos sonos uniusque sermoni peculiares, quosque Graecorum os rotundum ignoraverat."
 2. Ibid., p.388: "...sed nec quidquam pure Gothicum ad manus nostras pervenit, praeter Evangelia nunc primum evulgata, eaque gravissimis, quod dolendum, hiatibus laborantia. Mihi certe stupenda Argentei codicis vetustas argumentum est non contemnendum, hanc versionem non aliam esse quam Episcopi Gothorum illem antiquissimam...Placet...memorare quid hac de re senserit vir longe doctissimus...Jacobus Usserius, Archiepiscopus Armachanus: in epistola enim data ad Cl.Junium, ...sic ille: 'Ubi et illud notandum, Orationem Dominicam Gothicam doxologia illa concludi, quae in vetere Latina Bibliorum editione desideratur. Ut ex Graeco fonte Gothicam istam Novi Testamenti versionem derivatam esse appareat, ...'."

Visigothic) but rather that of Vulcanius, which, as has been said above, is clearly the alphabet of the Gothic language.

Junius concludes the Gothic Glossary by reproducing various alphabets of the peoples of Europe. In first place is a Runic alphabet derived from Olaus Wormius' Literatura Runica (ed. Hafniae, 1651). Then are placed the majuscules, minuscules and abbreviations of the Anglo-Saxons, which are the same as those presented by Matthew Parker. The works of both John Leland and Henry Spellman contributed to his knowledge of that script.¹ Next comes the Frankish alphabet which, he says, some call "Theotiscum", others "Alamannicum".² It is unnecessary for me to reproduce this alphabet here, for, with the exception of the letter 'r' which is written ℞, and 's' which is ſ, those characters are identical to those used now in the 20th century. The Danish and Islandic alphabet differs

1. Ibid., "Ne haec vacaret pagella, placuit adjicere doctorum aliquot testimonia de Anglo-Saxonico D & p... Joannes Lelandus, Angliae Antiquarius, in Commentariis suis in Cygneam cantionem (edited London, 1543)...Henricus Spelmannus (Anglus) qui in alphabeto Anglo-Saxonico, quod primo Conciliorum Tomo, edit.Londini 1639, praemisit) haec notavit:

p Th tanquam th in that vel this:
sed confunduntur hi characteres
a scriptoribus.

2. Ibid., p.30: "Franciscum alphabetum, quod quidam Theotiscum, alii Alemannicum nuncupant, has habet majores minoresque literas."

scarcely any from the Frankish, except that with the Danes and Islanders short 'o' is represented by a separate letter, o.¹

In last place come the characters used by both the English and the Belgians in Junius' time and formerly. These letters, the heritage of the printers who copied the minuscule of Carolingian Mss., are the same as those employed by us today.

This concludes our analysis of Junius' contribution to the science of Palaeography. As we have seen, the "scriptura Gothica" with which he was concerned, was not the Visigothic script of Latin mss. but the script proper to the ancient Gothic language. Yet his Gothic Glossary should have helped in clearing the mist surrounding that expression, "Gothica", when applied to script. His Ety-mologicum Anglicanum was an additional clarification of the ancient language of the Anglo-Saxons and thus was a factor in propagating a knowledge of the script in which that language was written, which, as we know, was the "scriptura saxonica" of our Latin mss.

1. Ibid., p.30: "Danicum Islandicumque alphabetum vix quicquam a Francico discrepant, nisi quod Danis atque Islandis o est 'o' breve."

CHAPTER V

DANIEL PAPEBROCH

The last great predecessor to Mabillon to be considered¹ in this group is Daniel Papebroch, a man who was the recipient during his lifetime of the most glorious acclaim on one side and on the other the most vicious attacks.² Born in Antwerp in 1628, he was the son of parents renowned for their devotion to the Faith. In fact, his paternal grandfather, a native of Hamburg, had migrated to Antwerp so that his children would not have to associate with the religious heretics of the city of his birth.³ Nor was the grandfather's piety lost in the grandchildren,⁴ for three of Papebroch's brothers and two of his sisters joined him in dedicating

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1. Cf. "Historia de Vita, Gestis, Operibus ac Virtutibus R.P.Danielis Papebrochii Hagiographii Societatis Jesu" Auctore Joanne Plenio eiusdem S.J., pp.3-21 of Acta SS. Junii...Collecta...a Conrado Janningo, Tomus VI, Pars I, Antwerp, 1715.
 2. Cf. "Conradi Janningi pro Actis Sanctorum hactenus editis opuscula apologetica reposita antirrheticis Adm.R. P.Sebastiani a S.Paulo Provinciali Carmeli Flandro-belgici" in Vol.I of the Acta SS.Junii, 1695.
 3. "Vita", Cap.I,#3..."Parentes nactus est spectata vitae integritate...Avum paternum Hamburgensem: cuius in animo tam altas egerat radices Romano-Catholicae religionis amor, ut dum Hamburgi mixtim cum haereticis et Catholicis vivendum sibi esse animadverteret, convasatis rebus migravit Antwerpiam, veritus ne hominum a Romanis sacris alienorum consuetudo, veneni quidquam, vel sibi vel posteris suis afflaret."
 4. Ibid.,#4: "...Et vero solida haec Majorum virtus transiit ad posteros, tamquam haereditaria...Transiit imprimis ad P.Danielem primogenitum: transiit ad tres ejus fratres germanos...qui fratris...exemplum secuti, Societatis Jesu nomen dedere omnes...transiit ad sorores duas, quae...Deo se devoverunt."

their lives to God in religion. A great student and a voracious reader, he was entrusted to the Jesuits for his formal education, subsequently entering the Society and taking his vows in 1648. After his Theology course at Louvain he was ordained priest in 1658.

At this time Bollandus and Henschen had already completed three volumes of January and two of February of the Acta SS. and were preparing the Month of March when Pope Alexander VII invited Bollandus to Rome to examine the mss.¹ preserved in its various libraries. Ill health and old age preventing Bollandus from accepting the invitation, Henschen was sent in his stead, accompanied by Papebroch. This decision on Bollandus' part was not a sudden one, for he had known Papebroch from boyhood, having advised and encouraged him, and he had always entertained the hope that that boy would one day succeed him as editor of the Acta.²

Upon their arrival in Rome in December 1660, the pope³

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1. Ibid., Cap. II, #8: "Alexander VII, summus Christi in terris Vicarius, ... cum Bollando intercesserat... Romam ipsum invitavit eo consilio, ut inspectis excussisque Vaticana, et aliis per Urbem et reliquam Italiam, bibliothecis, locupletem operi inchoato adjungeret accessionem ac necessariis praesidiis lucubrationes suas ubertim copioseque illustraret ac perpoliret."
 2. Ibid., #9: "in multorum itaque tot ingeniorum numero unus ex omnibus Papebrochius deligitur, quem jam inde a puero Bollandus ob indolis praestantiam egregie carum habuerat, et tum paternis monitis, tum suavis pietatis illecebris ad virtutem pellegerat, et quadam quasi praesagitatione conjecerat... ut puer ille, sibi in illustrandis Sanctorum Actis succederet."
 3. Cf. supra, p. 121 and "L'Oeuvre des Bollandistes" par P. Peeters, S.J., in Academie Royale de Belgique, Classe Des Lettres..., Memoires, T. XXXIX, Fasc. 4 et dern., p. 21 ff.

presented them with letters of introduction to the many libraries throughout Italy, which they visited with great profit. Returning to Antwerp in December 1662, Papebroch was given the task of preparing the life of St. Patrick, an assignment which he performed so well that he was given added responsibilities so that, through the combined efforts of Papebroch and Henschen, the three volumes of March were published in 1668 and showed a marked improvement over those of January and February.

When Henschen was ordered by his doctor to leave Antwerp for a change of air, Papebroch travelled with him, stopping first at Luxemburg where a critical change in the older man's health forced them to delay a month. To while away the time, Papebroch decided to examine the documents of San Maximian and the Luxemburg Antiquities. On this occasion a great desire overtook Papebroch of finding out certain facts about Diplomats, a task, his biographer says, which was quite difficult, because no one before him

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1. "Vita", # 11 & 12.
 2. Ibid., Cap. III, #15: "Quod morae spatium P. Daniel non sine fructu traduxit. Nam persuasum habebat, dum studiis omnibus esset solutus... nihil rei quidquam agere se posse melius, quam si tetricae solitudinis tempora falleret pervolutandis annalibus An. Maximianis et antiquitatibus Luxemburgensibus... Qua occasione cupido Papebrochium incessit moliendi quaedam de re diplomatica... Praesertim quod scientia haec et historica, proxima quaedam cognatione et affinitate inter se devinctae colligataeque teneantur. Ardua enim vero res atque horrentibus undique spinis obsita, eo potissimum, quod viam illam nemo huc usque ante ipsum esset ingressus. Proin vel tentasse hic aliquid, gloriosum auctori fuit."

had attempted it. The results of his investigation he published in 1675 in Vol.II of the Acta of April under the title, Propylaeum Antiquarium Circa Veri ac Falsi Discrimen in Vetustis Membranis. This work, which we shall soon discuss in full, was from the palaeographical point of view, incomplete and confused, but despite its shortcomings, it did succeed in opening the path for Mabillon's De Re Diplomatica, which was published in 1681.

Upon examination of Mabillon's work, Papebroch wrote Mabillon a letter wherein he humbly and joyfully submits the palm to the Benedictine and rejoices that from so hazardous and dubious an attempt as his could be brought forth so remarkable and complete a commentary by Mabillon. Moreover, Papebroch's work had impugned the validity of several mss. of the monastery of St.Denis, a group which Mabillon hastened to defend. Papebroch conceded on this point also and willingly restored to those documents the respect and prestige which they deserved, as can be seen in the following extract from the famous letter:

...postquam tamen utcumque evolvi opus vestrum de re Diplomatica, non possum celare fructum, quem inde rettuli. Fructus autem hic est, quod mihi in mea de eodem argumento octo foliorum lucubratione, nihil jam amplius placeat, nisi hoc unum, quod tam praeclaro Operi & omnibus numeris absoluto, occasionem dederit...Quod facere nolui, priusquam ex vestro libro notassem, quid corrigere circa ipsorum bullas deberem ad restituendam San-Dionysiano archivio aestimationem suam, quam laesisse videor, secutus Launoii iudicium. Caeterum non possum satis mirari, quomodo res tanta a vobis potuerit tam brevi tempore confici, quantum edito Aprili nostro ad annum millesimum sexcentiesimum octogesimum primum fluxit.....

Initio quidem lectionis, fateor, patiebar humanum aliquid, sed mox ita me rapuit ex utilissimo solidissimeque tractato argumento proveniens oblectatio, et gratus emicantis ubique veritatis fulgor, cum admiratione tot rerum haecenus mihi ignotarum, ut continere me non potuerim, quin reperti boni participem statim facerem socium meum patrem Baertium. Tu porro, quoties res tulerit, audacter testare, quam totus in tuam sententiam iverim, meque, ut facis, perge diligere, qui quod doctus non sum, doceri saltem cupio. Antwerpiae 20 Jul. 1683.¹

This classic letter, which revealed Papebroch's docility, candor and sincere search for truth without any obstinacy of opinion, was received by Mabillon and answered on November 12, 1683. In this Mabillon praises the remarkable modesty of Papebroch; for how many scholars, he asks, are there who, when defeated in an argument, are willing to set aside their own opinions and accept those of another. You, though, my friend, have done this, and if I had never known you, I would immediately embrace you with intimate affection. Learning and scholarship are insufficient without modesty. We, myself and those to whom I, at your bidding, have shown your letter concede to you the palm for both. Some have praised your exceptional refinement and culture, others your modesty and humility; all proclaim your remarkable erudition. If, Mabillon continues, there should be found anything in my work worthy of your praise or that of the public, this should be attributed not to any genius on my

1. Ouvrages Posthumes de D. Jean Mabillon, et de D. Thierry Ruinart, Tome Premier, pp.459-60, Paris, MDCCXXIV.

part but rather to the supply of mss. that I had at my disposal. But whatever the case may be, I would rather be the author of that very modest letter than the vain displayer of any work.

Nobis ex itinere Germanico reversis, reddita est epistola tua, in qua, quid de opere diplomatico sentias, sincere exponis. Ego vero satis mirari non possum tantam in insigni eruditione modestiam, cujus exemplum vix ullum illustrius reperire licet. Quotus enim quisque eruditorum est, qui in litterario conflictu victum se agnoscat, et agnita veritate priorem sententiam incunctanter deponat atque id palam omnibus testatum velit? Tu vero facis ultro, et tam amice, ut, si aliunde te non nossem, statim intimo amore complecterer. Sic non tibi sufficit doctrinae et eruditionis primas tenere, nisi etiam primas assequare modestiae. Utramque tibi palmam deferimus, adm. Rev.Pater. Neque haec mei solius sententia est, sed etiam eorum omnium quibus litteras tuas tuo jussu ostendi. Alii nimirum tuam eximiam humanitatem, alii modestiam et humilitatem, omnes insignem tuam eruditionem depraedicabant.

Sed vereor ne, dum haec fusius prosequor, mihi de tua confessione ingenuosissimae abblandiri videar. Absit haec a mente mea cogitatio,...Imo vero id ita animo reputo, si quid in opere nostro dignum tua, publicave aestimatione inveniatur, non tam ex ingenii nostri conatu, quam ex monumentorum copia et facultate aestimandum esse. Verum quicquid illud est, malim esse modestissimae epistolae auctor, quam cuiusvis operis vanus ostentator. Tu vero Vir piissime, Deum precare, ut qui tui in Actis Sanctorum illustrandis imitatores sumus, etiam 1 in consecranda Christiana humilitate socii mereamur.

Whatever may be the accusations cast at Papebroch, and there were many, no one can, after reading such a letter, state that there was any animosity between

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1. "Vita...Papebrochii", #17-8. The letter is also reprinted in Ouvrages Posthumes de D.Jean Mabillon etc., pp.460-61, but with a slight difference in the wording.

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Papebroch and Mabillon.

In 1678 Papebroch, in the performance of his priestly duties to the sick and the dying, was felled himself by a plague which swept over Antwerp. Henschen, his companion in the Acta, had so much love for his associate that he prayed that he would die in Papebroch's place, so that Papebroch might continue the Acta.² His prayers were not in vain, for he recovered his health and resumed work on the Acta with the assistance of Conrad Janning.³ In 1680 when Henschen's physical condition became very weak,⁴ Papebroch reserved the heavier duties of the Acta to himself, but the work was interrupted after a time by the publication⁵ of his responses to one of his most ardent critics, P. Sebastien de Saint-Paul, the provincial of the Carmelites in Belgium, who in 1693 had published a work entitled Exhibitio Errorum quos P. Danielus Papebrochius S.I. commisit contra Christi Domini paupertatem...etc., which was a violent tirade against Papebroch. The Jesuit's response, entitled Responsio Danielis Papebrochii ad Exhibitionem

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1. For information concerning the relations between Papebroch and Mabillon, cf. an article of P. Albert Poncelet, "Mabillon et Papebroch" in Mélanges Mabillon, Paris, 1908, pp. 171-75.
 2. "Vita...Papebrochii", #28: "Quoties in has aut similes erupit voces! 'Quis mihi det, o dilecte pater Daniel, o pars magna et melior mei, ut moriar pro te? Servate, servate, o Sancti, patrem Danielelem'."
 3. Ibid., #31.
 4. Ibid., #33-34.
 5. Ibid., #38-39.

errorum per adm. R.P. Sebastianum a S. Paulo vulgata a 1693

¹
Coloniae, was a masterpiece and answered every objection in a calm and clear style and gained for him increased fame.

Charges of heresy against him had not been confined to Belgium but had been reported to the Spanish Inquisition, which group advanced the bitterest censure even against the fourteen books of the Acta.² He had previously ignored the accusations hurled at himself personally, but when the charges were enlarged to include the Acta Sanctorum, he thought that it was his duty to the Order to publish the above mentioned defence.³

When stricken in 1701 by a severe illness which he thought was his last, Papebroch made out his last will and testament, in which he stated humbly and sincerely that he had previously asked Innocent XII either to indicate to him the precise parts of the Acta which the Inquisition of 1695 had proclaimed heretical, so that he might retract and correct them, or in the event that they were not able to

1. Published in Antwerp in 1696.

2. "Vita...Papebrochii", #41: "Miris enimvero machinis inducta fuit praedicta inquisitio ad edendum decretum Catholicis auribus horribile, quo tomos...quatuordecem de Actis Sanctorum ex sola infantium vel ignorantia vel invidia acerbissima censura confixit."

3. Ibid., #41: "Bolum tam durum tacitus huc usque decoxerat Papebrochius; judicavit, tacere se (quandoquidem purpissima haereseos nota scriptis suis erat inusta) diutius nec debere nec posse sine crimine et Societatis Jesu infamia."

find anything questionable in his books, to remove the stigma of heresy from them. Now close to death, he says, I repeat this request of Pope Clement so that I, who have lived as a Catholic, might through the grace of God die a Catholic in the eyes of man. This I cannot do if the charge of heresy remains fixed on my books. The complete text of the will is as follows:

Ego Daniel Papebrochius, e societate Jesu presbyter indignus, postquam quadraginta duos circiter annos, labore, possum dicere, assiduo, aestimatione vero, pro vario hominum genio, diversa, plerisque laudantibus, aliis, uti fit, criminantibus, impendi Actis sanctorum illustrandis; vocante me nunc Domino ad societatem, ut confido, eorumdem sanctorum suorum; illud unum in terris adhuc desidero, ut meo nomine supplicetur aequitati sanctissimi Domini nostri Clementis Papae XI, ut quod vivus ac valens pridem iterata petii ab Innocentio XII decessore ejus; ipse nunc tandem non deneget mortuo.

Petii autem ab Innocentio XII, ut pro auctoritate sua super ecclesiam universam dignaretur mihi indicare, aut per inquisitionem Hispaniae indicandas mandare Propositiones haereticas, quas meis in libris illa damnavit anno MDCXCV uti tales; uti ego, si quid haereseos ignarus scribendo forte commissem, id sciens volens retractando emendare possem; aut si praedicta inquisitio Hispana propositionem haereticam exhibere in libris meis non posset ullam, e decreto suo saltem terminum haereseos, suaeque pariter, ac meae eximendo consularet. Id ipsum peto nunc, mortui vicinus, et justo Judici Deo rationem auctorum a me omnium redditurus propediem, a sanctissimo domino nostro Clemente praedicto, ut mortuo saltem praestare dignetur, quod vivo hactenus non licuit obtinere. Catholicus vixi, Catholicus mori volo per gratiam Dei, et jus habeo, ut Catholicus quoque moriar in opinione hominum. Hoc autem obtineri non poterit, quamdiu Decretum inquisitionis Hispanae videbitur justo judicio editum ac publicatum esse; et ego ibidem legar in libris meis propositiones haereticas docuisse, ac propterea damnatus esse. Ceterum uti omnibus, qui totis quadraginta duobus, quos dixi, annis, opem mihi ad illustranda Sanctorum Acta, quoquo modo tulerunt, gratias ago immortales, interque illos, jam olim in Martio nostro a me laudato, tum pene adhuc puero, sed Graece

docto, Joanni Francisco Albano, nunc Sanctissimo Domino nostro: ita illis, qui me, veritati in rebus obscuris aliquid afferre lucis conatum; quomodocumque laeserunt, veniam lubenti animo concedo, et ex charitate Christiana ignosco omnibus. Et appositum est signum Patris Danielis Papebrochii per modum Crucis. Nov. 12, 1701.¹

Contrary to the expectation of all, Papebroch survived this illness and lived to give thirteen more years of his life to his beloved work, dying in 1714 at the venerable age of eighty seven.² A man of mature and solid judgment, a champion of truth, a tireless worker, he allowed not a minute of time to elapse without profit. Even periods of recreation, generally over by others to friendly conversation, were dedicated by him together with Henschen to work on the Acta.³

Throughout all the years of undeserved censure and criticism, he always spoke well of others, whereas rigidly and often he chided himself for his own shortcomings.

1. *Ibid.*, #47 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, #101: "Viatico ad aeternitatis iter instructus fuit...Donec in profesto die SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ...placidissime, uti vixerat, vivere desiit...anno fluentis seculi XIV, aetatis LXXXVII, Hagiographiae LV."

3. *Ibid.*, #61-2: "Praeter tenacissimam memoriae vim, erat in eo ingenui perspicuitas excellens, et limpida...Accedebat iudicium maturum et solidum, veri tenax, non tamen pertinax...Eum porro tenebat studendi modum. Solebat primo mane, peracta re divina, in museum sese abdere, ad meridianum usque tempus, nec e statione discedere ob frigoris asperitatem, aut alia caeli aerisve incommoda; nullam item sinebat elabi particulam pomeridiani temporis qua parcissime non uteretur..... Aliquando illud quoque tempus, quod ad laxandos aliquantulum animos, familiari sermone transigitur, sua cura non vacabat. Tunc enim cum P. Henschenio aliove socio corrigendis typis, prout res ferebat, operam dabat."

Truly humble, he was never ashamed to admit his ignorance.¹
 Patient and long suffering, he endured without a whimper
 pain and physical discomforts, even those brought on by
 the blindness with which he was afflicted in his latter
 years.²

Thus it was that Papebroch and his work earned such
 tribute as that accorded by Anthony Magliabecchi when he
 wrote: "Insulsae illae et ineptae contra opus scribillat-
 iones peribunt haud dubie cum eorum auctoribus, opere de
 Actis Sanctorum ad orbis usque interitum duraturo",³ and
 again when he said: "Credat mihi, inter probos et eruditos
 omnes neminem unum reperiri apud quem Acta illa summo in
 pretio et veneratione non habeantur".³ Muratori, Lucentii,
 Fontanini⁴ in Italy, D'Achery and Mabillon⁵ in Gaul penned
 like words of praise. Mabillon, in fact, seemed to make
 Papebroch's cause against his detractors his own and in a
 letter of January 21, 1682 advised him thus:

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1. Ibid., #89: "Semper de aliis honorifice loquebatur. Rig-
 idus erat defectuum suorum et frequens accusator...Nec
 porro pudebat ipsum fateri, nescire se, quod nesciebat."
 2. Ibid., #93: "...nullum ejus verbum excipiebatur, de dol-
 ore corporis aut de morbi aegritudine querentis...Praet-
 er haec nihil meo quidem judicio atque solidam viri vir-
 tutem declaravit, atque mirabilis patientia, in diuturna
 visus hebetudine, ac dein caecitate."
 3. Ibid., #64.
 4. Ibid., #69.
 5. Ibid., #70.

Si me audis, eorum (accusatorum) querelas surda
aure praeteribis...vigiliae ac lucubrationes
vestrae ita (mihi) sunt cordi, ut nolim eas de-
fensione non necessaria interturbari.¹

Even in Spain, where the bulk of Papebroch's enemies resided, friends were not lacking to him. From their ranks came Nicholas Antonius, celebrated compiler of the Bibliotheca Scriptorum Hispanorum, who wrote to Papebroch in the following words:

Bollandi, Henschenii, Papebrochii nomina, virtutes, et erga rem litterariam publicam merita inhaerent altius cordi nostro, quam ut ...etc!
Ac versus finem: 'Prospiciet Deus, ne abruptatur aureum hoc (Actorum) filum etc.'²

Nor was this acclaim confined to Catholic sources only, for Protestants also lauded Papebroch in glowing words. Among these was William Leibnitz who, in the introduction to Vol. I of his Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium, said:

Cum ergo beneficio Danielis Papebrochii celeberrimi in Societate Jesu viri, plus quam dici ³
potest meriti, facta...mihi esset copia, ...etc.

This portrait of Papebroch may seem to some to be too lengthy and detailed for a work of this sort, but since Papebroch is of such importance to Palaeography, a full picture of him and his background will make, I feel, for a sounder analysis and judgment of his Propylaeum and the motives behind it.

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1. Ibid., #71x.
 2. Ibid., #75.
 3. Ibid., #79.

Papebroch begins that work by reporting that, before his return to Belgium from Rome, he had had a conversation with Pope Alexander VII who said, among other things, that he had heard from Allatius, the Vatican librarian, that Papebroch and Henschen had designated for transcription not only the approved lives of the saints but even those suspect of being mere fables. Warning them that mature judgment was necessary if one would separate the genuine mss. from the false or doubtful, the Pontiff expressed the opinion that the man who does not want to be deceived by mss. not only should have before his eyes 'formulae' differing according to age and locale, but also should have made a careful study of the very letters in which mss. were written. Papebroch concurred in this opinion and further advised the Pope that as far as the examination of the so called fabulous Acta was concerned honesty itself demanded that they reread them so that they might discover for themselves what made them fraudulent, since, as he insisted, no fraud is capable of being wholly concealed.

When so great a man agreed, Papebroch continues, that our practice of reading both kinds of Acta would enable us to ascertain more accurately the difference between the true and the false, we pursued our work all the more diligently, and having become skillful through practice, we

1. Cf. supra, p.123, sqq.

were now able to condemn as false mss. about which we had before been doubtful. Sometimes, in fact, Papebroch says, we have had to alter previous judgments, retracting the credence which we had formerly given to some mss.

The Propylaeum has been prepared for three reasons:

(1) so that we might quiet the complaints of our friends who have felt that we have attacked antiquities which, to their minds, were beyond reproach, (2) so that by drawing up certain general principles of the ways and means of distinguishing mss., we might make better progress in our commentaries before the Acta and our observations after them, and (3) so that when the reader shall have found in this volume or those of subsequent months that certain matters have been handled otherwise by us in preceding books, knowing the reason for our altered opinion, he might be able to follow us so much more securely in that he sees that an error on our part has been promptly retracted and rectified by us. The text of the introductory section is as follows:

Alexandri VII Pontificis maximi extremo dignati alloquio, priusquam Roma discederemus in Belgium anno MDCLXI, ad opus de Sanctorum Actis majori in dies cum cura profectuque expoliendum, non tantum alacriores ex illius approbatione revertimus, sed etiam instructiores. ex admonitione. Notaverat vir ille sapientissimus, lecta de tribus Dagobertis Francorum Regibus Diatriba, tam novis ac curiosis quae istuc tractantur quaestionibus definiendis praesidium magnum ex veterum ecclesiarum monasteriorumque archivis peti. Audiverat idem a Vaticanae Bibliothecae Custode Allatio, non tantum probatas Sanctorum Vitas, sed etiam fabulosas aliquas transcribendas per nos designari. Hoc cur faceremus, voluit causam intelligere,

istud mirifice commendavit; si, tamen, inquebat, supposititia a genuinis, interpolata a sinceris maturo secernantur iudicio; in vetustis enim diplomatibus chartisque recipiendis ad historicam probationem non minori versandum est cautela, quam in nummis; quorum multi sub larva antiquitatis inducunt in fraudem, vix a paucis oculatioribus agnoscendam. Ei igitur, qui falli nolit, curandum censebat, non tantum ut cognititas habeat formularum notarialium rationes, pro seculorum atque locorum varietate diversas, sed ipsos quoque litterarum ductus dignoscat curiose, si quando offerentur chartae, quae autographae esse dicantur...Quod autem ad fabulosa quaedam Sanctorum Acta attinet; de iis a nobis edoctus vicissim, ipsorum exemplar ideo peti, quod aliter nequeat certo dilucideque convinci falsitas, quam relegendo ipsamet fraudis numquam integre se occullantis vestigia; probavit consilium, agnovitque etiam id habere locum in diplomatibus, neque minus ad veri falsique discretionem acquirendam valere chartarum suppositarum exempla, quam autographa verarum.

Exinde, quod antea faciebamus studiose, coepimus multo adhuc diligentius facere auctore tanto, et utrorumque saepius inter se collatorum frequenti usu paulatim facti peritiores, multa deprehendimus manifesto falsa, in quibus dubii antea paventesque haerebamus; nonnumquam etiam nos ipsos correximus, retractando fidem quam talibus antea dederamus. Huius studii ad illustranda Sanctorum Acta tantum valentis, fructus aliquos exhibebit praesens Propylaeum, ad hoc comparatum, partim ut sopiantur querelae amicorum, arguentium nos de importuna morositate circa antiquitates suas, de quibus nollent dubitari: partim ut constitutis semel generalibus quibusdam discriminis inveniendi principis, expeditius progrediamur in nostris ante ipsa Acta commentariis aut observationibus postea subjiciendis, partim etiam ut, cum lector invenerit in hoc aut subsequentibus mensibus quaedam aliter atque in praecedentibus tractari a nobis, mutati iudicii causas intelligens, tanto sequi possit securius, quanto promptius a nobis videt retractari ac corrigi, si quid alibi minus explore videmur recepisse. Constabit autem Propylaeum hoc partibus tribus: quarum prima erit de Diplomatibus, praesertim iis quae antea nongentos aut mille annos a primis Francorum Regibus signata dicuntur in quibus erratur eo periculosius, quod haec saepe unica ratio sit constituendae chronologiae. Secunda examinabit monasteriorum quorundam Carmeliticorum per Europam antiquitates, nuper praetendi coeptas.

Tertia quasdam Brixienſes tabulas, multa Martyrum nomina continentes, in hoc opere neſcitum habitura locum.¹

The Propylaeum is divided into three parts, the first of which treated diplomata said to have been written nine hundred or one thousand years ago by the first kings of France; the second part examined the antiquities of certain monasteries throughout Europe, and the third, certain tablets of Brescia, containing martyrologies. It is with part I that we are primarily concerned. This he begins in a sincere but slightly apologetic tone. Baronius, he says, when he examined the famed Donation of Constantine, did not feel that he would deprive the Church of any of her rights if he should find the Donation to be a forgery. So I, in examining these documents, do not propose by my discovery to strip the owners of the privileges and property bestowed by the documents. For this work, Papebroch assures them, will not dispute ancient and just possession; it shall rather reject false charters. It has been undertaken so that the history of ancient time, obscure enough in itself, might not be made more confusing through false and

1. Acta SS. Aprilis, collecta, digesta, illustrata a Godefrido Henschenio et Daniele Papebrochio e Societate Jesu, Tomus II, Antwerpiae...MDCLXXV. Ad Tomus II Aprilis "Propylaeum Antiquarium Circa veri ac falsi discrimen in vetustis membranis."

fictitious documents.¹

He begins with a certain diploma of the monastery of Treves, "diploma Horreeense", fabricated under the name of Dagobert I, King of France, as if he himself had signed it in 646 at the request of his wife, Nanthild, and under the eyes of a daughter Irmina. Scholars who had looked at the letters of this document, "Gothico more formatos, uncialibus in principio et fine characteribus insignitum",² have readily assigned the document to Dagobert, but Papebroch is convinced, and this he strives to prove, that it is the work neither of Dagobert nor of anyone else of his age,

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1. Ibid., page 1, #3: "Ecclesiasticorum Annalium...eruditissimus scriptor Caesar Cardinalis Baronius, ad annum cccxxiv fraudes atque imposturas retecturus Edicti ejus, quod sub Constantini Magni nomine profertur ab aliquibus, tamquam continens donationes a piissimo illo Imperatore factas Romanae Ecclesiae; non credidit se, id faciendo, juribus ejus detrahere quidpiam, quibus tuendis satis esset antiquae ac justae possessionis titulus.....
#4: Similia hic quoque videor posse ac debere praefari, de foundationibus, donationibus, privilegiis variis acturus; de quibus, cum scripta instrumenta vel ab initio nulla fuerint, vel abolita autographa sint, hodie dum monstrantur chartae, vel prorsus fictitiae vel a rescribentibus audacter interpolatae. Scilicet antiquae ac justae possessioni nihil derogatum iri putamus per eiusmodi chartarum rejectionem, non alio fine institutam, quam ne temporum vetustissimorum historia, satis per se obscura, per ipsas inextricabiliter confundatur."
 2. Papebroch gives no definite indication of what he means by uncial characters and letters formed in the Gothic manner. It is to be assumed, however, from a glance at the very small specimen of the "diploma Horreeense" with which he furnishes us that the term "unciales" refers not to a particular type of script but rather to the excessive height of the letters (viz. "uncia" = "one inch") while Gothic applies to the rather crude and angular (i.e. barbaric) formation of the characters.

but rather of some one else several centuries later.

On the side of Diplomatics he considers the contents of the document, paying special attention to incongruities between it and other established historical records; then he examines the wording of the introduction and the subscription, and finally the seal. Palaeographically, he analyzes the script and compares it with that of other documents written at various times between the 6th and the 13th centuries. It is this comparison of scripts, one with the other, with an attempt to trace a development of one from the other, a work for which there was no precedent, which constitutes this as the most important palaeographical contribution before the time of Mabillon.

Since our purpose is to give a history of Palaeography, we shall not delay too long on the diplomatics of Papebroch's proof. Completeness, however, demands, that we give the following high-lights of his arguments:

(1) Dagobert was supposed to have signed this document in the presence of his daughter Irmina. But, Papebroch says,

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1. Ibid., p.3, #11: "...quod seculi exploratores gnari, statim ut solos conspexere absque signis litterarum ductus, Gothico more formatos, uncialibusque in principio et fine characteribus insignitum, repente Dagobertinum esse pronuntiaverunt. Ego vero libens cedam omnia, nisi pluribus evicero rationalibus, diploma istud non tantum non esse autographum ullius omnino Dagoberti, sed nec ex autographo quidem, si unquam ullum extitit, transcriptum fideliter, ast pluribus post omnes Dagobertos seculis fuisse imperitissime consarcinatum."

Dagobert I did not have a daughter Irmina. Dagobert II did ¹.

(2) There are inconsistencies in chronology.

(3) A genuine document of Dagobert I, preserved in the library of St. Maximian, furnished Papebroch with a basis for comparison of its style, subscription and formula with that of the "Horreense diploma". This genuine document begins with the words: "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti": the "Horreense diploma" begins: "In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis", which latter, in fact, are identical with the introductory words seen in all the extant documents belonging to the age of the Henry's (11th and 12th centuries). Moreover, all parts of these later diplomata with but slight variations agree with those of the "Horreense diploma".²

No document, written under the kings of the first family nor even under Charlemagne began with the words: "In nomine sanctae et ind. Trin.". Rather they begin: "In nomine P. et F. et S.S."³. Louis the Pious was the first

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1. *Ibid.*, Caput I, pp. ii-v: "S. Irminam (cujus patri adscribitur diploma Horreense) Dagoberto, non I, sed II natam esse, longe verosimilius dicitur."
 2. *Ibid.*, Caput II, p. vii, #27: "Henriciani aevi diplomata... inveniuntur tam multa, ut eis vel alicui eorum integre transcribendo immorari operae pretium non sit; unius... initium... accipe... 'In nomine sanctae et individuae Trin.' ... Similia sunt omnia ejus temporis diplomata, formulis eadem, verbis non nihil variantia, quibus suum Dagobertinum adaptavit Horreensis chartae fabricator."
 3. *Ibid.*, #28: "Quod attinet ad formulam instrumentorum publicorum, 'In Nomine sanctae et indiv. Trin.' scribendorum: ea non modo non obtinuit sub primae stirpis Regibus, sed neque sub Carolo Magno coepit, 'In Nomine P, et F. et S. S.' scripta sunt, quotquot uspiam extant ante Carolum in dubitata diplomata et ipsum et iam Caroli."

to make a change. He wrote: "In nomine Dei et Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi",¹ and his son, Louis, was, as far as Papebroch knows, the originator of the "In nomine sanctae et individuae Trin."² Others followed suit, and this manner of begining a document became so common that those who presumed to write diplomata belonging to an earlier age thought that they would be in error if they did not use this manner of introduction. Thus the fabricator of the "diploma Horreense" began with these words, unaware that³ this formula was not in use at the time of Dagobert.

IV. Indictiones, though found in the "diploma Horreense", were, in fact, unknown and unused before the time of Charlemagne, who, thinking it proper to his position as the head of the Roman Empire, began to number the years of his rule thus, adding the words "Christo propitio" and

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1. Ibid., #29: "Ludovicus Pius, Caroli filius, primus mihi fuisse videtur, qui mutata formula scribere coepit, "In nomine Dei et Salv. etc.".
 2. Ibid., #29: "Ast vero Ludovicus, Ludovici pii filius... eiusque frater Carolus Calvus... elegerunt... scribere "In Nom.S. et Individuae Trinitatis'."
 3. Ibid., #29: "...exindeque ea formula obtinuit adeo universaliter, ut etiam qui pro temporibus multo anterioribus supponenda diplomata componere praesumebant, nihil se acturos plerumque crederent nisi sic inchoarent, nescientes aliud aliquid in usu umquam fuisse. Idem Horreensis diplomatistae fabricatori contigit: qui dum etiam annos Indictionis Romanae numerandos esse putavit, ignotum sibi quoque eorum numerandorum principium esse."

and "in Dei Nomine" or "in Christi Nomine feliciter".

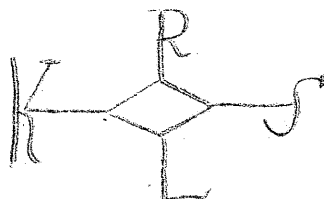
V. The manner of dating according to the year of Christ, as found in the "diploma Horreense", was not practiced before Lothar (825-869), the third son of Hlothar (795-855), whose method of subscription is typified by the following:

"Data Metis Civitate, xvii Kl. Maji, anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXVIII, Indictione I Anno Serenissimi Regis Lotharii XV, in Dei nomine feliciter Amen."

1. Ibid., #29: "...Francis primae stirpis ignotae Indictiones fuere, nec secunda stirpis receptus earum usus prius fuit, quam Carolus Magnus, Romanus Imperator creatus, congruum duxit Romanorum Imperatorum eatenus servatam consuetudinem sequi. Idem annos sui Imperii numeraturus, addere coepit 'Christo propitio': neque contentus finire apprecando 'feliciter' scripsit 'In Dei nomine' aut 'in Christi nomine feliciter, Amen'." Cf. Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, Tome Septième, Première Partie, Publié par Le R^me dom Fernand Cabrol, Paris 1926, c.530 sqq, for an article on Indictiones. c535: "Charlemagne introduit l'indiction dans les actes impériaux; elle persiste en France dans les actes des rois jusqu'au regne de Philippe 1^{er} et beaucoup plus longtemps en Allemagne". An Indiction is a cycle of fifteen years. The origin of the term is found in the fact that every fifteen years since the principate of Hadrian the terms of the land tax were revised. Since people became accustomed to designate the year in which some event took place under the name of the indictional year, this period of fifteen years served for chronological calculations. The oldest example of the usage of the indiction as a chronological element is found in an edict of the Emperor Constantine in 356 (Theodosian Code I, XII, tit.xii, 1,2). In the 4th century it was used by ecclesiastical writers, notably St.Athanasius and St.Ambrose. Prescribed by Roman law (Justinian, Novellae, XLVIII) and adopted by the Christian computers, the use of the indiction as a chronological element spread in the Middle Ages throughout all Western Europe. However, as Papebroch said, it was not used in France before Charlemagne.
2. Ibid., #32.


VI. The "diploma Horreense" includes in its signature the information that it was written 'per manus Grimoaldi Majoris Domus', but the use of the plural 'manus' is not seen in any genuinely old document.¹

VII. The monogram of the 'diploma Horreense' differs from that proper to the age of Dagobert. Early Christians, when sealing contracts, were wont to make a Cross to which the signer, in so far as he was skilled or unskilled, would attach his own name. These cruciform monograms, since they are very ancient, (as is evident from the San Maximin Dagobert and the ms. of Charlemagne) give foundation for thinking that all kings and princes before Charlemagne, whenever they used monograms, held to this form.² E.G., the seal of Charlemagne, Charles the Bald and Charles the Fat:



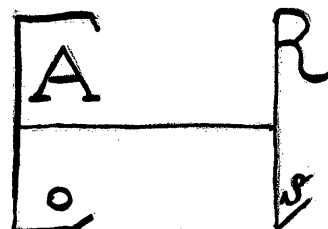
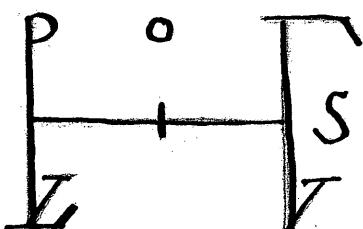
The rhombus in the center supplies the vowels which occur in the name itself.

1. *Ibid.*, #34.

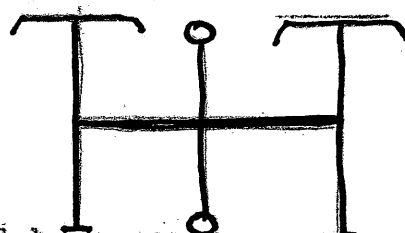
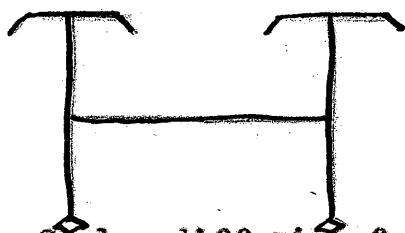
2. *Ibid.*, Caput IV, #54: "Sciendum igitur, morem apud Christianos antiquissimum fuisse, in signandis contractibus et aliis quibusque instrumentis, formare Crucem , cui is qui subsignabat, sua vel aliena manu, prout litterarum erat peritus aut rudis, proprium adscribebat nomen. Hujusmodi simplici Cruce Reges ac Principes non contenti, eandem instruxerunt ornaveruntque nominis sui litteris, ipsi Cruci adnexis. Haec vero cruciformia monogrammata, cum sint omnium antiquissima (ut apparet ex Dagobertino San-Maximiniensi et Carolinis ubique obviis) datur fundamentum opinandi, quod omnes ante Carolum...eandem formam tenuerint."

Other kings and emperors, up to Henry, preferred the square figure for their monograms, with either no or little reminiscence of a cross. Louis the Pious began this form, because to "H", the first letter of his name, the other letters might be more easily attached than to the cruciform.¹

Thus his seal and that of his son were:



The Otto's used the same form, employing now the square "O",² now the round.



Seals, differing from these, would be suspect.

Papebroch continues with this long discourse on monograms and concluded from his intensive study of them that square seals, adorned with letters, are more recent than those which can be assigned to any of the three Dagobert's.

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1. *Ibid.*, #57: "Ceteri reges atque Imperatores quadratam monogrammaticis suis signis figura praelegere, nulla deinde vel exigua habita ratione Crucis usque ad S. Henricum. Initium huic formae fecit...Hludovicus Pius... eo quod ad primam nominis litteram, scilicet H...ceterae litterae aptius quam ad Crucem appingerentur."
 2. *Ibid.*, #59: "Ottonibus Imperatoribus facilius id fuit... utentes nunc quadratis, nunc rotundis O."

Thus the "diploma Horreense" is a forgery since the form of the seal inscribed in it is not comparable to any other seal examined by him.

But inconsistencies in chronology and other like errors are not sufficient proof that a document is false. Evidence also must be gleamed from the script of the diploma in question. Examination of the letters used in the "diploma Horreense" reveal, Papebroch states, that that document could not have been written at the time of Dagobert but must have been written many centuries after. For he had arranged for a friend of his, Wilthemius by name, to transcribe exactly, character for character, a genuine document of Dagobert I, which was preserved in the monastery of San Maximian.¹ (As for the monastery of St. Denis, Papebroch continues, -- and ~~this~~ is one statement that motivated Mabillon to prepare his great work -- there is not

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1. Ibid., #22: "...quod non satis est verosimiliore chronologiae dixisse contrarium...verum ostendi debet, ipsum tale esse, ut, quamvis characteres temporum omnes esse ut absque errore positi, nequiret tamen haberi pro vero Dagobertini temporis scripto, sed deberet post multa deinde secula et scriptum et compositum credi. Hoc ut facerem occasionem dedere Annales San-Maximiniani, ab Alexandro Wilthemio accuratissime elaborati, et ex volumtate eruditissimi auctoris a me studiose perlecti... Habet Imperiale istud coenobium, suum adhuc archivium optime conservatum; in eoque originalia...tot antiqua quot forte alibi extant nusquam. Nam in San Dionysiano prope Parisios monasterio, quamvis multa sint, tum Dagoberti fundatoris, tum subsequentium primae stirpis Regum, nullum est tamen quod originale, pauca quae possint sincera credi. In istis autem San Meximinianis primum et antiquissimum est Dagobertinum...Wilthemius ipsam membranam curavit transferre in paris magnitudinis chartam, et veteres characterum formas in ea sic exceptit ad vivum, ..."

in those archives one document of Dagobert and his successors which may be considered original, few only being genuine). This document of San Maximian had once been assigned to Dagobert II, but after considering the shape of the characters contained therein, Papebroch is convinced that it should rather be attributed to Dagobert I since in his opinion the script used at the time of Dagobert II would be more¹ polished ("cultior") than that employed by his predecessor.

The very shape of the characters used in the "diploma Horreense", more than any internal evidence, is conclusive proof that that document is a forgery, for, in this respect, the eyes of each reader may clearly see the vast difference between the age to which it pretends to belong and the age which the form of the letters and the king's monogram clearly² indicate. For this purpose he reproduces on Plate I three facsimiles, one of the beginning and end of the San

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1. Ibid., #24: "Dubitavimus fateor...essetne Dagoberti I an II diploma illud...At nunc, postquam ipsos litterarum antiquarum ductus videre licuit, adeo mirabiles et implexos, ut nisi olim legissent majores et legibilia exempla descripsissent, vix quisquam eos assequi posset; omnino persuasi manemus, esse Primi, quandoquidem tempore Secundi cultior aliquanto scriptura fuerit usitata." Papebroch seems here to share in that mistaken idea that the more complex a script the greater its age.
 2. Ibid., #35: "Nunc ego attentum, non tam lectorem, quam spectatorem deponco, ut ipse oculorum arbitrio dignoscatur discrimen ingens, inter eam quam Horreense diploma mentitur aetatem, et quam ipsa litterarum ac Regii monogrammatidis forma indicant. Incipio a forma litterarum: ac primum exhibeo San Maximinianae membranae initium ac finem, qualiter ex eo autographo...depinxit accuratissimus...Alexander Wilthemius. Hunc Horreensis membranae initium cum parte subscriptionis, qualiter...ad me misit Henricus Turck..."

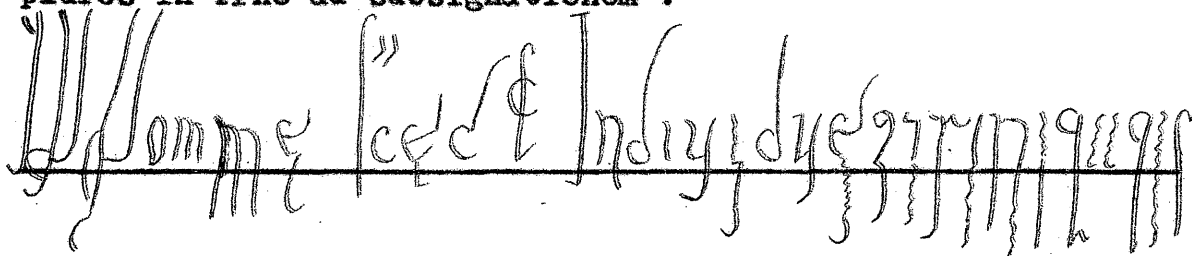
Maximian parchment, another of the beginning and part of the subscription of the Horreense forgery, and the third of the beginning of the privilege of Henry given in 1087 to the Basilica of S. Servais. Let us consider first, he says, the letters in which the text of the "diploma Horreense" is written, samples of which are seen in the words, "Dagobertus divina praeordinante":

Dagobertus divina praeordinante

¹
These letters, Papebroch claims, with the exception only of the letter "r", are so similar to those in current use that you would scarcely assign an age of four hundred years to them. The letters used at the beginning and end of the document are longer than those used in the body of the text and affect a certain crude antiquity, "praecipue...longissimae illae et unciales litterae, quae tres in principio, et

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1. Ibid., #36: "...prius enim agendum est de ipsis litteris, tum iis quibus proponitur 'sanctae et individuae Trinitatis' invocatio, et 'signum Dagoberti' ex parte repraesentatur, tum quibus haec verba exprimuntur, 'Dagobertus divina praeordinante providentia Rex', quibus etiam respondet reliquus praetensi istius diplomatis contextus. Postremae, ut non sunt toto genere diversae, ita sub eadem Teutonici characteris specie ab hodierni usus ductibus adeo parum recedunt, si solam litteram 'r' excipias, ut annorum quadringentorum aetatem aegre eis ausis conjectando tribuere. Priores ac ceteris longiores, et quadam affectate antiquitatis barbarie implexae, speciem habent vetustatis majoris; praecipue vero longissimae illae et unciales litterae, quae tres in principio, plures in fine ad subsignationem, fuerunt adhibitae. Sed has alieno tempori suppositas esse, ipse ille enormis excessus longitudinis probat, qui in San Maximiniano nusquam notatur, et primum initium videtur habuisse a Carolo Magno."

plures in fine ad subsignationem".¹



But this excessive height, noted not at all in the genuine document from the archives of S. Maximin, seems to have had its beginning only from the time of Charlemagne.

Papebroch's next statement, though made in an offhand manner, without apparent indication of its full import and bearing, yet serves as an excellent manifestation of his keen palaeographical sense. For it is here that he expresses for the first time the distinction between the script to be found in diplomatic charters and documents and that in which literary mss. were written. That distinction was later clarified by Mabillon who termed the former "scriptura diplomatica" and the latter, "scriptura litteratura". In Papebroch they are called simply "scriptura publica" and "scriptura privata". For, he says, in order that I might show that in public and private scripts in the age of Dagobert I almost no letters were used other than those in which the S. Maximin

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1. Ibid., Plate I: The word "unciales" as used by Papebroch apparently does not refer to the 'scriptura uncialis' since the letter 'd' as evident in the above specimen is the only one which can be classified as distinctly 'uncial'. It must, however, have reference here to the length of the letter, i.e., an inch high, since the first three letters, as specified by him, are very tall.

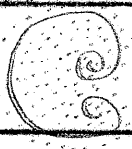
document is seen to have been written, and to demonstrate also that these letters in the course of the centuries gradually became softer and clearer ("molliores et planiores"), samples of both kinds had to be sought. I could hope to find, he continues, no more genuine example of "scriptura privata" than that which is contained in a very old copy of the Martyrology of Jerome, written at Epternach, undoubtedly by Willibrord, since no one but Willibrord would have written those words found inscribed in the margin of the codex in the same hand but in characters a little smaller than those used in the text itself. These words, inserted in the year 727, were: "Clemens Willibrordus...anno DCXCV ab Incarnatione Domini, quamvis indignus, fuit ordinatus Episcopus in urbe Roma, ab Apostolico viro Domno Sergio Papa".

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1. Ibid., #37: "Ut ergo demonstrarem in publicis privatisque scripturis, Dagoberti I aevo, haud alias fere litteras usurpatas, quam quibus San-Maximinianum diploma exaratum cernitur, quaeque succedent eum sibi seculorum fluxu paulatim evaserint molliores planioresque; utriusque generis quaerenda fuerunt exempla. Et privatae quidem scripturae nullum certius exemplum optare debui, quam quod tot annis fuit in manibus nostris...Hieronymiani martyrologii vetustissimum egraphum. Hoc enim quin vere scriptum sit Epternaci, per S.Willibrordum fundato et tribus a civitate Trevirensi leucis dissito monasterio, dubitare non possumus, quando animum advertimus ad verba in Praefatione Generali ante Januarium, Cap.4, #4 a Bollandi transcripta, (prout illa eadem antiqua manu sed caractere paulum minori in margine Codicis ipsius legebantur ad Kalendarium Martyrologio subiectum, tamquam anno Incarnationis DCCXXVIII apposita) 'Clemens Willibrordus etc...'. Unde enim 'quamvis indignus' adscribi potuit...nisi ab ipsius S.Willibrordi manu? Ubi autem nisi Epternaci? cum extremos vitae suae annos...Epternaci...egerit?"

Who but Willibrord himself would say that he was unworthy of being appointed Bishop? Where else could this have been written but at Epternach where Willibrord spent the last years of his life? When? Let the reader himself, Papebroch suggests, judge with his own eyes and, comparing this with the genuine document of Dagobert, see whether from the "mollioribus aliquanto tractibus litterarum c, d, e, s, u" he may be able to decide that the script of this codex deflects more than one hundred years from the age of Dagobert I.¹ On Plate II, thus, he reproduces a specimen of this martyrology of St. Jerome, "quale in membranis Epternacensibus ante annos nongentos scriptum servatur",² from which I have extracted the following alphabet and ligatures:

abcde ("e" frequently in ligature) eu = ew

ep = ep, ei = ei, en = en, f, g, h, i, l, m, n, o

p, q, r, s, t, u, x 

1. Ibid., #38: "Quo autem tempore? id tuis ipse oculis aestima lector, et vide num ex mollioribus aliquanto tractibus litterarum c, d, e, s, u possis iudicare, quod plus quam centum annis a primi Dagoberti aevo deflectat codicis hujus scriptura."
2. Ibid., Plate II, post pag. 12.

This script, as is evident, is clearly Insular, with the clubbing of the letters 'l', 'b', 'h', and 'p', the typically Irish 'f' and the highly adorned letter 'C'. Now, with the above, Papebroch has asked us to compare the script in the S. Maximin document of Dagobert, a line from which looks somewhat like the following:

consilio episcoporum meorum comitumque

legatos de mea

I cannot see much basis for comparison between the two. The letters 'a', 'f', 'g', 'l', 'o' and 't' of the Dagobert document are entirely different and represent, as far as I can judge from the specimen, the script used around Corbie in Pre-Caroline times. The very peculiar 'c' and 'd' are almost identical with those found in an 8th century Corbie¹ ms. Any attempt on my part to see, as Papebroch suggests, a development in the 'c', 'd', 's', 'e' and 'u' produces no fruit, since they are almost totally dissimilar. Perhaps, however, in the larger specimen which was available to Papebroch, such a development and similarity could be seen, something which would be quite possible since

1. Steffens, Lateinische Paleographie, Facs. 29.

palaeographers now feel that the peculiarities of Corbie and Luxeuil depend in part on the influence of the Irish script.¹

On the same plate with the Martyrology, he reproduces a fragment of an old Diptych as a specimen "characteris² circa an DCCCCLVIV ibi (Treves) usitati". The date he derives from the names of those mentioned in the ms., all of whom lived in the 10th century. This fragment was

1. Cf. Lezioni di Paleografia del Giulio Battelli, Città del Vaticano, 1936, p.140: "Il monasterio di Luxeuil in Borgogna fu fondato da S.Colombano intorno al 590, ma il più antico ricordo della sua produzione scrittoria risale all'an 670. Si conoscono molti codici di questo importante centro, tanto in onciale e in semi onciale, quanto in merovingica; il tipo di questa scrittura, pur essendo molto simile a quello cancelleresco, presenta particolari caratteristiche dipendenti in parte dall'influenza della scrittura irlandese, che a Luxeuil era certamente conosciuta." Then speaking of the "Scrittura di Corbie", he says: "...Questa dipendenza da un monasterio che a sua volta era stato fondato da irlandesi, e insieme la posizione geografica, per cui Corbie si trovava sulla strada percorsa da chi veniva in Europa dall'Inghilterra, ci spiegano come nell'evoluzione della sua scrittura, abbia avuto una grande influenza la scrittura insulare." Leopold Delisle in his work "Recherches sur L'Anciennes Bibliothèques de Corbie", published in Mémoires de L'Institut Impérial de France, Académie Des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Tome XXIV, pp.266-342, Paris, 1861, says (p.294) that there were several mss. in Corbie written in saxon characters, and that there was one volume of the 11th century which contained a collection of Irish canons.
2. Propylaeum, Plate II.

written in Caroline Minusculé, as can be seen from the following alphabet which I have extracted from it:

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

Now, Papebroch continues, if you compare the characters of this 10th century Diptych with those of the 8th century Martyrology, written in an insular hand, you will easily (???) judge the one to be more than two hundred years older than the other, and if you further compare both of these with that script in which the "diploma Horreense" was written, you will be readily convinced that the forger of that document, as far as minuscule letters were concerned, imitated a certain script of an age midway between the two.

1. Ibid., #39: "Hujus autem Diptychi et Martyrologii illius characteres inter se comparans, sicut facile judicabit hoc isto esse annis ducentis antiquius; ita utrumque conferens cum ea littera qua scriptus est contextus Horreensis diplomatis, haud difficulter persuadeberis, Horreensem scriptorem, quoad litteras minusculas, imitatum esse scripturam quandam aetatis inter utrumque mediae."
2. This statement is a contradiction of what he had already stated in #36 (cf. supra p.248, n.1.), where he said that the letters of the "diploma Horreense" can only with great difficulty be assigned to an age of more than four hundred years, (thus the 13th century). If, as he now says, the script of the "diploma Horreense" lies midway between the 8th century martyrology and the 10th century diptych, then the forger would have imitated a 9th century minuscule.

Now, such distinctions in the ages of the scripts of these three mss. may have been very obvious to Papebroch himself, trained as he was by many years of experience with mss., but it would hardly be so to one who was less skilled, and since the avowed purpose of Papebroch in this work was the formulation of certain criteria by which others might be guided in their judgments concerning the validity of documents, he could scarcely be said to have accomplished this end by the mere statement that the script of one ms. was so many years older than that of another. Clarity would demand that he specify the actual differences between the letters of the three scripts, which, of course, Papebroch has failed to do. Alphabets from the three, as completely as could be derived from the specimens provided by Papebroch, may be seen below, with "a" under "a", "b" under "b", etc., to depict, if any, the development of one from the other.

(1) The Martyrology of St. Jerome (7th-8th century)

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s r t u x

(2) "Diploma Horreense" (? century)

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u

(3) "Fragmentum Veteris Diptychi" (10th century)

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v

Since both the insular (the martyrology of St. Jerome) and the Caroline Minuscule (10th century Diptych) have strong semi-uncial characteristics, it is apparent that these two should be alike, but the letters of the "Diploma Horreense" are crude and irregular in comparison with either of the aforementioned.

Papebroch has placed a specimen of the privilege of Henry given to the Basilica of S.Servais on the same plate with the genuine S.Maximin Dagobert and the questionable "diploma Horreense". Though this privilege was dated 1087, certain things, he does not say what, were contained therein which caused Papebroch to suspect that this was actually written in the 13th century. Yet, because there were no other public documents available, the authenticity of which was more certain than that of the privilege of Henry, he was compelled to use this, true or false, reproducing the first line of it, so that, by a comparison of it with the other two, it might become apparent that the "diploma Horreense" recedes almost as far from the 7th century S. Maximin document as it approaches the 11th-(13th ?) century privilege of Henry IV. In this respect Papebroch was comparing the script of the "In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti" of the original Dagobert with the "In nomine Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis" of the other two,

My crude attempts at reproduction of these three specimens of Papebroch are as follows:

(1) Privilegium Dagoberti I. R. Franc. Pro Monasterio S. Maximini Trevir.

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.

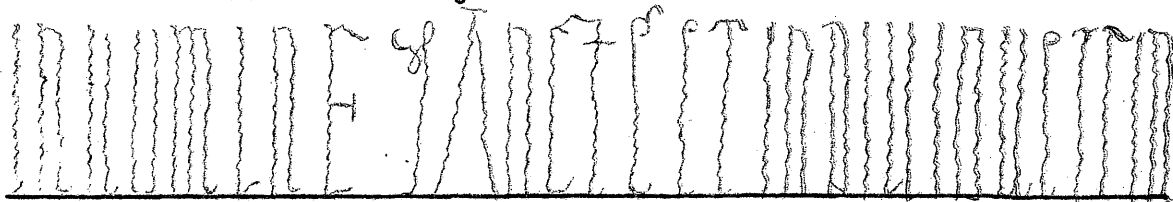
(2) Specimen Privilegii Horrensis sub eodem Rege ut praetenditur conscripti, suaeque fictionis evidentia indicia continentis.

In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis

In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis.

1. Ibid., #40: "A privatis ad publicas scripturas transire volenti, eo minus parabilis fuit earum copia, quo sollicitius ipsae custodiuntur. Itaque primo aliam nullam habui, cum qua Horreense diploma compararem, quam Henrici IV Privilegium, pro ecclesia S. Servatii 'datum Aquisgrani Palatio, anno Dominicae Incarnationis MLXXXVII, indictione X, anno Regni ejus XXXII, Imperii IV, Henrico Episcopo Leodiensi, Godescalco Traiectensi Praeposito, Dudekino Decano'. Sed in hoc non pauca se offerebant, quae fidem ipsius originalis nobis suspectam reddebant, cogebantque dubitare ne totum et scriptum et confictum esset seculo XIII. Tamen quia certius exemplum non suppetebat, illius qualiscumque seu veri seu falsi diplomatis primam lineam praedictis speciminibus chartae San-Maximinianae et Horrensis subjunxi, ut ex ejus consideratione quadamtenus appareret, tantum fere a San-maximiniane recedere Horreensem, quantum ad Traiectensem accedit."

(3) Initium Privilegii Henriciani Anno MLXXXVII dati pro Basilica S.Servatii Trajectensis.



In nomine sancte et individue Trin-

In this case, as in previous instances, Papebroch merely reproduces the specimens without attempting to indicate specifically the elements in each of the three scripts which would lead him to conclude that the "diploma Horreense" should be placed midway between the 7th century Dagobert and the 11/13th century privilege. Herein lies a grave palaeographical omission.

When the abbot of the monastery of S. Maximin saw how much prestige could come to the ancient mss. preserved in his library if specimens of them were copied and publicized, he permitted Wilthemius, Papebroch's friend, to transcribe whatever charts he might wish and then transmit them to Papebroch. This then is the source of the

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1. Ibid., #40: "Verum ubi haec sic aeri incisa conspexit Reverendissimus Abbas S. Maximini Maximinus Gulich; et consideravit quantum monasterii sui diplomatibus antiquis accuratissime in hunc diem conservatis, auctoritatis posset accedere, si plura hujusmodi specimina ex archivio suo depromerentur, ejus denuo scrutandi facultatem amplissimam Wilthemio nostro dedit, quam eatenus concedere recusaret; eique permisit, ut omnium quas vellet chartarum formaret ectypa, eadem ratione qua primum Dagobertinum expresserat, nobisque transmitteret."

facsimiles on plate 3, one of which is the privilege of Charlemagne given to the monastery of St. Maximinus and written in Saxony in 779.¹

In this ms., Papebroch says, can be seen at the beginning and end uncial letters (again "unciales" must refer to the size of the letters, not the shape), none of which appear in the genuine ms. of Dagobert I. Their use, however, persisted among Charlemagne's successors, and can be seen, as he already mentioned, in the "In Nomine Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis" of the "diploma Horreense". The shape of the remaining letters differs little from the Dagobertine characters and confirms, he says, his assertions concerning the similarity of script used from the beginning of the Merovingian kings up to Charlemagne, the only difference in the two consisting in a slight sloping and an

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1. Cf. #43 et sqq for a lengthy discussion of the dating of this document of Charlemagne. Some would doubt, he says, the presence of Charlemagne in Saxony in the 11th year of his reign, claiming that the 11th year of his reign in which year Charlemagne was supposed to have written this diploma, would have been 778, at which time he was not in Saxony but in Spain. But, Papebroch continues, kings as well as popes number the years of their rule from the day of their elevation, with no consideration of the civil or ecclesiastical year. Charlemagne did this and numbered the years of his reign from autumn to autumn as long as he held the title of king only, but when, on Christmas Day 801, he was hailed as Emperor, in order that he might advance with equal steps with the years of the empire of which he was then in charge for the first time, he took the three months, now in the 33rd year of his reign, as a full year and joined the 34th year of his reign with the first year of his emperorship.

increasing smoothness in the strokes of the writers of the later age.¹ This specimen looks somewhat like the following:

I n n o m i n e P a t r i s e t F i l i i

g r a d i r e x F r a n c o r u m

The other facsimile on plate 3 is a specimen of a document of King Lothar, the "In Nomine Patris" of which is so similar to that seen in the preceding document of Charlemagne that it is unnecessary to reproduce it here.² The minuscule

1. Ibid., #41: "...in quo Privilegio videre est unciales litteras, quae nullae in vero Dagobertino sunt, initio ac fine usurpatas, quod deinceps in usu successorum permansit. Reliquarum litterarum forma, quam parum a Dagobertinis characteribus discrepat, tam certo nostram assertionem confirmat, de simili scriptionis specie, iam inde ab initio Austrasiensis regni usque Carolum et deinceps, in scripturis publicis usurpata, sub modica leniorum paulatim ductuum declinatione."
2. Ibid., #41: "Idem probat haud multum absimile Lotharii Regis...diploma alterum, in eadem tabula delibatum, scriptum 'Mattis civitate...anno...DCCCLXVIII.'."

letters also bear a striking resemblance to that specimen and look like the following:

ad dñ pertinent hoc est in aecclia

ad dñ pertinent hoc est in aecclie

To the above documents of Charlemagne and King Lothar he adds on plate 4 a part of a privilege of Emperor Lothar written in 843 at Aix-la-Chapelle¹, the minuscules of which are as follows:

obsequiis eorum animos reddat

obsequiis eorum animos reddat

efficaciorer efficaciores

Then finally on plate 5 Papebroch has given two facsimiles of documents, one of Otto I, written in 966, and another of Henry III written in 1043. These he has given so that the reader "gradatim molliores considerans

1. Ibid., #50: "Carolino Privilegio in hunc modum defenso ...subjungo Hlotharii Imperatoris Privilegium, sicut privato cuidam subdito datum, sic in minori membrana minori caractere expressum quam priora...annus Christi DCCCXLIII exurgit pro mense Martio, quo fuit hoc Privilegium Aquisgrani scriptorem."

characteres" from Dagobert I to Henry might be convinced of that which he first set out to prove, i.e., that he who presumed to write the "diploma Horreense" did not have before his eyes any script of Dagobert but a far more recent one, evidently of the age of the Henry's. For it is not necessary, Papebroch says, to speak of the "mollitie" of the letters in which the words "Dagobertus divina praeordinante" were written. But consider the wavering characters ("crispatis...characteres") of the words "Signum Dagoberti", and you will see that they had their beginning with Otto under

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1. Ibid., #52: "Porro diplomata ista Ottonis et Henrici eatenus solum delibavimus, quatenus satis est, ut a primo Dagobertino usque ad ultimum Henrici quarti, gradatim molliores considerans characteres, omnino convincatur, verum esse quod principio demonstrandum assumpsi, eum qui Horreensem chartam scribere praesumpsit, non habuisse prae oculis scripturam aliquam Dagobertinam, sed longe recentiore aliam, aetatis scilicet Henricianae. Nam, ut non loquar de mollitie litterarum quibus exprimitur 'Dagobertus divina etc.', crispatis illi characteres, quibus ex parte 'signum Dagob. etc.' exprimuntur, initium habuerunt (ut vides) primum in Otthone, sub quo non nullae litterae uno crispantur flexu; qui flexus in Henricianis majusculis geminus, nec in illis tantum sed etiam in minuscularum apicibus invenitur. Denique (si genuinum est Trajectense diploma) undosa illa litterarum forma sic placere coepit sub Henrico quarto, ut majusculae omnes, totae et uniformiter crispae, adhibitae sint: qui etiam Henricus majusculis suis usus ad solam invocationem initialem, communibus deinde litteris quibus contextum reliquum, primam diplomatis sui lineam, consequenter absolvit, prout etiam fit in Horreensi membrana. Neque te moveat in Carolino ac Lothariano majuscularum quarundam subobscura et irregularis crispatis: hanc enim abesse ab originalibus, atque soli senilis manus suae tremori adscribendam monuit Wilthemius statim ac perfectam celaturam vidit; quod hic monere maluimus, quam absque praesenti originali quidquam mutare in tabula, juxta ecgraphum nobis missum celata."

whom some letters were adorned with a single twist ("non nullae litterae uno crispantur flexu"), and on further examination you will observe that this twist is doubled not only in the majuscule characters of Henry III but even in the top of the minuscules ("qui flexus in Henricianis majusculis geminus, nec in illis tantum sed etiam in minuscularum apicibus invenitur"). Finally if the ms. of Utrecht (plate I, and cf. page 258, specimen 3 of this paper) is genuinely one of Henry IV, that quivering form of letters ("undosa illa litterarum forma") began to attain so much popularity under him that all the majuscules were shown wholly and uniformly "crispae". This Henry used these majuscules for the initial invocation only, and then finished the first line of the document in the same letters in which the rest of the text was written, just as was done in the "diploma Horreense". As a final warning, Papebroch says we should not be disturbed by the irregularity and curl in certain majuscules of the facsimiles of Charlemagne and Lothar, for he has been advised by Wilthemius that this was not present in the originals from which he had made the transcriptions but should rather be attributed to the tremor in his own aged hand.

Facsimiles of the documents of Otto and Henry III are as follows:

- (1) Privileg. Ab Ottone I Imp. Datum Colon. Monasterio S. Maximini A.D. DCCCCLXVI.¹

In nomine sanctae et individuae

quae futurorum industria qualiter

quam futurorum industria qualiter

- (2) Aliud ab Henrico III Imp. Datum Moguntiae A.D. MXLIII.

In nomine sanctae et individuae

In nomine sanctae et individuae

previdere maxime tamen et magis

previdere maxime tamen et magis

1. Ibid., Plate 5: Papebroch adds this note: "In utroque hoc Ottonis atque Henrici Privilegio linearum interval-la, ipsaque adeo apicum fastigia, tertia sui parte con-tractioni hic spectari quam sint in membranis originar-iis: alias lamina una utrumque specimen capere non potuisset."

Thus, the main point emphasized by Papebroch throughout the whole discussion is this: the more recent the document, the more wavering, the more flexible the characters in which that document was written. And for this discussion he has devised a vocabulary all his own. The document hitherto ascribed to Dagobert II, he assigned to Dagobert I because in his opinion the script of the second Dagobert would have been "cultior" (cf.#24). The initial letters of the "In Nomine Sanctae etc." of the "Horreense diploma" are "unciales", a word which to him applied not to the familiar uncial script which was so popular between the 4th and the 8th centuries, but rather to the length of the letters, "longissimae...et unciales litterae" (cf.#36). Papebroch also stressed his theory that from the age of Dagobert I letters became "molliores planioresque" (cf. #37) and thus because of the "mollioribus aliquanto tractibus litterarum" he placed the Willibrord Martyrology more than one hundred years after the Dagobertine age. It was also his contention that from the time of the Merovingian Kings up to Charlemagne the "scriptura publica" (i.e., Mabillon's "scriptura diplomatica") revealed a "modica leniorum paulatim ductuum declinatione" (cf.#41). And because he believed that characters became "gradatim molliores" (cf.#52), he produced specimens of documents from the time of Dagobert I to Henry IV so that the reader might conclude from the judgment of his own eyes that the "mollities"

of the letters in which the words "Dagobertus divina praeordinante" were written together with the "crispati characteres" of the words "Signum Dagoberti" would place the "Horreense diploma" in an age posterior to that of Otto I (966) with whom, he says, some letters "uno crispantur flexu". Moreover, "undosa illa litterarum forma" (cf. #52) became so popular under Henry IV that all majuscules were uniformly "crispae".

This concludes Papebroch's study of script, which apparently satisfied his desire to formulate precise criteria by which the reader might determine the age of a document. How incomplete this study was we can fully understand when we are reminded that nomenclature of scripts is almost totally absent from the whole discussion. Although the Martyrology of St. Jerome was a clear example of what had been identified as "scriptura saxonica" by Matthew Parker and his successors, Papebroch neglects so to designate it. Nor does he make any special reference to the script seen in the 10th century Diptych (i.e., Caroline Minuscule), although it is very probable that a great number of the mss. examined by Papebroch throughout his lifetime must have been so written. It is not that we would expect him to call the script Caroline Minuscule since we are aware of the infrequency of the use of this particular term before the time of Mabillon, but he could have done

as many of his contemporaries and predecessors had, when referring to this script, namely indicate that it was the script used so commonly in the 9th century.

On the credit side we must not overlook the fact that Papebroch did not fail to distinguish between the "scriptura litteratoria" and the "scriptura diplomatica" (cf. # 40). Nor should Mabillon's work and that of his successors cause us to underestimate Papebroch's contribution, but rather should we bear in mind that he was treading on virgin soil and that while he adopted the proper procedure, he failed to see that the validity and reliability of his experiments would increase in proportion to the number of mss. and "diplomata" examined by him. Ten such, even if they did represent every important age between the 7th and the 11th centuries, could scarcely be the foundation for the formulation of the ever changing standards of writing in Latin mss. and "diplomata".

In Chapter VI of the Propylaeum, Papebroch, after having sufficiently impugned, to his own satisfaction, through both Diplomatics and Palaeography, the validity of the "diploma Horreense", advances his theory on what he considers the true source of the document. It is evident, he says, that St. Irmina, the founder of the Horreense monastery, was a daughter of a Dagobert, for there are extant

badly preserved leaves of old documents in one of which the father assigned a dowry to his daughter, while another written by Dagobert III confirms the donations made by Irmina. The wax seal which is on the "diploma Horreense" seems to have been taken from that latter document. Thus since the monastery had lost the charter of its own foundation and other instruments pertinent to it, and since the privilege of Dagobert III was of such an ancient character, they thought that they could make up for the loss of their original document by having a new copy of that document made (since the old one was now scarcely legible) and presented to King Philip IV for renewal.¹ Thus they fabricated a diploma, written in rather ancient characters and on rather old parchment and finished it off by taking wax from a leaf

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1. Ibid., #76-77: "...Cum igitur foundationis suae tabulas et alia eodem spectantia instrumenta antiquiora perdidissent penitus Horreenses; et confirmatorium Dagoberti III 'privilegium antiquissimum' tale jam esset, 'ut propter ipsius vetustatem privilegii, posset in proximo dispendium imminere'; voluerunt huic defectui et periculo prospicere, petendo illius innovationem a Franciae Rege Philippo IV.....Ut, ut fit, videntur illae... habuisse Dagoberti cuiusdam diploma; et suam fundatricem scientes Irminam Regis Dagoberti filiam dici; eundem esse et hujus patrem et illius diplomatis conditorem credebant; cumque ipsum prorsus illegibile jam esset... innovatio illius petenda...videbatur."
 2. Papebroch here seems to contradict what he has already stated about the characters of the "diploma Horreense" in #35, i.e.: "Postremae...ab hodierni usus ductibus adeo parum recedunt, si solam litteram 'r' excipias, ut annorum quadringentorum aetatem aegre eis ausis conjectando tribuere."

of a genuine document of Dagobert and applying it to the
¹
 new production.

²
 In Chapter VIII of the Propylaeum, Papebroch attempts an explanation for the existence of so many false ecclesiastical documents. In the 11th and succeeding centuries, he says, while schisms and rebellions disturbed the peace of the universal Church, there prevailed throughout the land such corruption that those who had promised to serve God, seeing their immunity and possessions weakened on all sides, thought that they would not commit too great a wrong if they should fashion for their own protection documents, prejudicial to no one, but, as they thought, conducive to the maintenance of justice. A certain artfulness, to their minds innocent, moved superiors of monasteries to procure fictions of this kind. The men who were commissioned to do

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1. Ibid., #77: "...Hoc consilio capto, scriptum primo fuerit novae compositionis diploma, antiquiori caractere et in obsoletiori membrana; cera autem ex antiquae Dagobertinae confirmationis pittacio revulsa et membranae praedictae applicata."
 2. Ibid., #103: "Undecimo Christianae Aerae seculo et sequentibus dum Ecclesiae universalis pacem tot undique schismata seditionesque turbarent, ea erat morum corruptela, ut qui Dei famulatum erant professi, et videbant a potestatibus secularibus undique accidi immunitates et possessiones suas; non magno crimini sibi ducerent, pro ipsis tuendis fingere, quae in nullius cessura praejudicium, solum videbantur conductura tenendae aequitati. Quemadmodum autem monasteriorum Superiores innocens quaedam, uti ipsi putabant, vafrities permovebat, ad ejusmodi fictiones procurandas; ita sciorum quorundam, ad hoc inductorum, manus atque stylum animabat profunda quaedam chronologicarum rerum istis temporibus ignorantia, per quam sciebant impune quilibet se scripturos modo secundum aliquam publicorum instrumentorum formam, neque testium insignium deessent nomina, neque temporum characteres..."

this work were ignorant of chronological matters and thus felt that they would write anything with impunity provided they followed some form of public document, and provided they included the names of some outstanding witnesses and characters of the time.

Frauds of this kind were not without success, not only in the succeeding ages but even in those very times in which they were written, and this too even among men not otherwise unlearned. This statement of his is based, Papebroch says, on the fact that, although this crime was committed with great frequency, yet no one was found among so many writers of the Middle Ages who accused a diploma of this kind of falsity and interpolation.¹

Even we in the Acta Sanctorum, he continues, have made use of various mutilated documents, content to reject as spurious only the dates and the "Indictiones" since we considered them as later additions. But now, after having conducted this investigation, we have discovered that these were laboring under several other faults. For in data about the Saints (whose deeds we accept on the good faith of

1. Ibid., #104: "Et vero successu non caruerunt eiusmodi fraudes, non tantum seculis diu post secutis, sed ipsis illis quibus nascebantur temporibus, etiam apud viros alias non ineruditos, sed rerum historice pensendarum rudiores; uti colligitur ex eo, quod cum toties tamque abnormiter peccaretur in hoc genere, nemo unus inventus sit, inter tot medii aevi scriptores, qui vel unicum istiusmodi diploma falsitatis et interpolationis arguerit, etsi multi historiam ex professo tractarent."

those who report them, particularly if they be contemporaries of the saints) we feel that we should maintain pious credulity more than cunning suspicion, and where there is no likely contradiction of more worthy authority or more certain chronology, we are wont to accept freely what has been handed down to us by our ancestors as true. But when falsity becomes apparent, we have always thought that that should be removed, sparingly at first, but more freely and frequently as the work progressed.¹

In Chapter IX Papebroch reviews Philip Labbe's work on the French Kings, in which Labbe had attacked through diplomatics the authenticity of some documents that had been attributed to Clovis. Considering the facts contained in this book, and finding not one sincere and genuine document in the whole kingdom of the Franks which belonged to the

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1. *Ibid.*, #109: "...Numquam et nos ipsi, in hactenus edito Trimestri, huiusmodi instrumenta varia partim citavimus, partim attulimus integra, contenti solas annorum Christi et Indictionum notas, velut a posteris adjectas, repudiassse; quae nunc aliis pluribus vitiis deprehendimus, laborare, postquam serio hanc disquisitionem suscepimus? Etenim in materia de Sanctis (quorum gesta, virtutes, miracula pleraque in bona narrantium, maxime coaevorum auctorum, fide suscipimus) putamus piam credulitatem, magis quam argutam suspicitatem tenendam nobis esse; et ubi non offertur verosimilior auctoritatis dignioris aut certioris chronologiae contradictio, libenter excipere soleamus quae a maioribus tamquam vera traduntur; quia non possumus uno eodemque tempore omnia scrutari et assequi. Quotiens tamen evidens nobis se aperuit falsitas, semper putavimus talia resecanda; parcius quidem in principio (quia minus ad verorum falsorumque discrimen exercitatis, quandoque nec dubitare quidem venir in mentem) progrediente autem opere, liberius frequentiusque, proportionate ad crescentem usu experientiam."

age before Dagobert I, and furthermore discovering very few which could be considered as written under that king and his successors up to the end of Merovingian rule, Papebroch has strong praise for the following admonition of John Marsham¹ (already mentioned in this paper), contained in his Propylaeum² to the Monasticon Anglicanum:

Caute intuendae sunt istiusmodi chartae; quae fidem eo minorem quo maiorem praeferunt antiquitatem. Rudis olim et iners gens nostra (de Anglo-Saxonibus et de communiori usu loquitur) absque scripto donationes conferre solebat. Ex Beda sane non constat, scripturam adhuc illius aetate in transferendis praediis aut concedendis usurpatam fuisse.

Thus Papebroch is convinced that the majority of questionable documents to be found in monastic and ecclesiastical archives were not copied from or based on genuine records which once existed, but rather were fabricated long after to establish their claims, either real or feigned, to property in the possession of those churches or monasteries at the time of the fabrication. Thus it is that many of these documents embraced not only the lands first received from him in whose name the document was supposedly written

1. Cf. supra, p.49.

2. Propylaeum, #125: "Porro hactenus deducta considerans, et in toto Francorum regno nullam omnino chartam sinceram ac genuinam reperiens ante Regnum primi Dagoberti; paucissimas item sub illo atque post illum, usque ad secundae stirpis Reges scriptas haberi; quae vel autographae dici possent, vel ex autographo fideliter desumptae; vehementer laudo monitum Joannis Marshami, heterodoxi quidem circa religionem, sed a monachis neque monastica minime alieni, datum in propylaeo ad Monasticum Anglicanum: 'Caute intuendae sunt etc.' "

but also all other lands afterwards donated. For indeed, so many and such great donations are recorded in the one 'diploma' that it is incredible that they were all presented at one and the same time.¹

The same thing, he continues, may be said of apostolic privileges by which monasteries were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop and placed under the immediate protection of the Roman See. No one will convince Papebroch that those privileges are as old as they pretend to be. The monastery of St. Denis has several documents presumably written by Popes and French Kings to all of which, particularly those assigned to the times of the first royal family (i.e. Clovis, etc.), Marsham's warning must be applied, i.e., the older a manuscript claims to be, the less faith

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1. Ibid., #126: "...persuademus, partem majorem fallacium istarum chartarum, in archivis monasticis et ecclesiasticis reperiendarum, non habere principium ac fundamentum in veris, quae aliquando extiterint, tabulis; sed solum in possessione aut vera aut praetensa; quam ut firmarent, eiusmodi diplomata confingere elegerint. Hoc autem dum facerent existimo illis etiam usitatum fuisse, ut non solum fundos ab illo cujus nomine diploma cudebatur, primum acceptos; sed et alios postea a quibuscumque donatos, de quibus nihil scripto docere poterant, eodem diplomate comprehenderent. Nam saepe tantae et tam multae possessiones una exprimuntur in charta, ut prorsus incredibile sit, eas omnes uno eodemque tempore, ab uno Rege, alicui monasterio vel ecclesiae primum surgenti fuisse condonatos."

you should have in its authenticity.¹

Two of these, supposedly the work of Pope Stephen III, are written on the bark of a tree, a writing material which was in use so long ago that when it ceased to be so employed in favor of the more pliable sheep skin has escaped the memory of man, and almost no relics of this kind of writing still exist. Moreover, Papebroch says, if in the 8th century bark had been so common that a Pope would use it for one of his Bulls, should we not find several samples of this sort or references made to them by authors?²

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1. *Ibid.*, #127: "Simili fere modo licebit ratiocinari de privilegiis Apostolicis, quibus ab Episcoporum jurisdictione exempta monasteria, et sub immediatam Sedis Romanae protectionem suscepta sunt. Quo tempore ea res coeperit, difficile est definire: esse tam antiqua quam videri faciunt nonnulla quae proferuntur privilegia, nemo mihi persuaserit...Habet San-Dionysianum juxta Parisios monasterium plurima, tam Romanorum Pontificum quam Francorum Regum, diplomata; et quidem, ut praetenditur, originalia; etiam in corticibus arborum scripta quaedam: de quibus omnibus, quod quidem attinet tempora primae stirpis regiae, illud omnino tenendum est, tanto minus eis adhibendum fidei, quanto plus prae se ferunt antiquitatis."
 2. *Ibid.*, #128: "...sed iidem sciunt usum istum tam esse antiquum ut quandonam desierit omnem hominum memoriam fugiat, nullis fere eiusmodi scripturae reliquiis perennantibus, postquam agninas atque ovinas pelles in membranam distendere usus docuit, quae et complicari, et convolvi, et in grandes compingi codices tam commode possunt, ut totis XVIII seculis nulla fere ad scribendum materia alia adhibita sit. Quis autem dubitat multas huiusmodi arboreas scripturas alibi quoque inveniendas esse, multam earundem apud scriptores ipsos mentionem, si VIII seculo tam fuisset ordinarium in cortice scribere, ut etiam Pontifices in tali materia suas expedirent Bullas?"

Part II of the Propylaeum attacks the pretended antiquity of certain documents of the Carmelites. That the Carmelites first came to Europe in the 14th century is proven from the Bull of Innocent IV, the Carmelite Breviary and the Chronicle of Sanurcus. Yet the Carmelites have taken great offence at anyone who would impugn any of their documents which hold to their greater age. Papebroch does not want the Carmelites to think that he is working from any prejudice, for he wishes nothing more than to find firm foundation for their opinion, but upon examination of all the annals at Lezana, he had found not one which would be difficult to accuse of falsity. He further believes that when the Carmelites see the most important of those documents on which they relied so refuted they will not ask for a refutation of each one individually.¹

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1. Ibid., Pars Secunda, p. xxxii: "...sed circa tempus translati Ordinis ea nos sinant credere, quae ex Innocentii IV Bulla, ex Breviario Carmelitiano, et Sanurci chronica discimus, et ante centum annos a nemine fuerunt in dubium revocata...Ergo ne pergerent quaeri, praejudiciis abreptos nos contra evidentissimam veritatem niti, cum interim nihil optarem magis quam opinioni ipsorum firmandae solidum aliquod invenire fundamentum; totos Lezanae Annales evolvi...nec unum quidem reperi, cujus probationem difficile esset manifestae veritatis aut etiam falsitatis convincere...visum est sufficere posse exemplum unum alterumque, ex quo de caeteris qualia sint, aequus lector iudicium ferat. Ipsi certe Carmelitis suffecturum id credo, ne existiment amplius antiquitates suas ex mero praejudicio rejici; neve porro nos urgere velint ad dandam de singulis rationem, cum viderint ea quibus potissimum nitebantur, et quae nobis prae aliis semper voluerunt esse commendata, adeo solide confutata."

The inscription proclaiming the foundation of the Carmelite monastery at Florence in 743, Papebroch shows, contains several errors in fact and chronology,¹ since it mentions among other things a Bishop Thomas whose name does not appear in any catalogue of Florentine Bishops.² The inscription was based, he has learned from Petraccius, on a fictitious document composed by the monks of the Florentine Carmel under the year 743, but the imposture had been detected by men 'emunctae naris' since, Petraccius says, neither the style nor the form of the letters were those to which the people of Florence had been accustomed.³

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Papebroch thus asked Petraccius to secure for him a sample of a few lines of this document which he might present to his readers, but he responded that its suspicious custodians would perhaps not permit examination of it, and

1. *Ibid.*, #5.

2. *Ibid.*, #6: "Ad Thomam Episcopum quod attinet, ejus nomen non invenitur in ullis Florentinorum Episcoporum Catalogis."

3. *Ibid.*, #7: "...Sed a viris emunctae naris facile observata impostura fuit, cum neque loquendi, neque litterarum formae eae essent, quibus antiquitus assueverant Florentini."

4. *Ibid.*, #8: "Rogaveram ego ut istius diplomatis pauculas lineas, alteriusque seculo VIII scripti etiam paucas, peritiori manu sic curaret excipiendas, ut aeri incisae ipsis oculis exhibere possent suae aetatis differentiam. Sed respondet, utrumque difficillime impetrandum, a suspicacibus custodibus; a Carmelitis fortassis nulla ratione."

that it seemed to him to be a waste of time to make such a transcript since several who have previously seen the document can testify that it was written neither in Roman, Gothic, nor Lombardic letters, but in a very strange script ('litteris...barbaris').¹ Herein are mentioned together, and for the first time in the Propylaeum, three of the four classes of script enumerated by Mabillon in Chapter XI of Book I of the De Re Diplomatica. Added to this is the reference to 'litteris barbaris', which may or may not be the 'scriptura barbara' designated 'Francogallica' by Mabillon.

Part III of the Propylaeum deals with a Martyrology of Brescia, sent to Papebroch by Bernardinus Fayus, a priest of Brescia, who had edited the collection together with notes which indicated the sources of his information. Included in this is an alphabetical index of two hundred or more saints of Brescia whose names were taken from the records of the Church of S. Afra and other monuments. It pains Papebroch, who is motivated "solius veritatis studio", to have to say that these records are false. But it is wrong to say that SS. Angelinus and Orielda, and Paulinus and

1. Ibid., #8: "...Videri autem superfluum fore laboris et pecuniae impendium, cum illud Carmeliticum plurimi ante hac viderint, testarique possint ipsum nec Romanis nec Gothicis, nec Langobardicis litteris, sed prorsus barbaris esse exaratum."

Gentilis, their sons, suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Hadrian,¹ a statement contained in this martyrology, for it is evident that cognomina of this kind were not in use until² after the year 1000, since several of them had originated from the vernacular Italian language which in the first centuries of the Christian era had not yet come into being. Let him who so wishes examine the alphabetical index of Fayus and there see among other names 'Aliprandus'. 'Aloysius', 'Charles', 'Oliver', etc. to which are added cognomina like 'Medici', 'De Allegri', etc. We think, Papebroch says, that the reader will conclude with us that there have been introduced into the rolls of ancient martyrs several who should be considered neither martyrs nor men of antiquity.

1. Ibid., Pars Tertia, #2: "Harum tabularum fidem atque originem indagantibus nobis, omnino praeter opinionem et votum accidit, ut non modo fierent multimodis suspectae, sed etiam incertos facerent de iudicio ferendo circa varios Sanctos in ipsomet Martyrologio notatos, ac nominatim circa SS. Angelinum et Orieldam conjuges, Paulinum et Gentilem eorum filios, XIX Aprilis adscriptos, tamquam sub Aureliano Comite, sub Hadriano Imperatore coronam martyrii praecipitio assecutos."
2. Ibid., #9: "Atqui satis constat eiusmodi civicarum familiarum cognomina, partim patronymica, partim a possessione aut natali loco sumpta, post annum Christi millesimum coepta esse usurpari; et pleraque ex hodierna Italica lingua, quae primis seculis necdum nata erat, accepta intelliguntur. #10: Legat qui volet praecitatum Fayni alphabeticum indicem, ibique inter alios videat, 'Aliprandum, Aloysium...Carolus...Oliverium...etc.' Consideret etiam addita iisdem, cognomina 'Corthesii, Milanei...Medices...De Allegris...etc.' Legat, inquam, et consideret haec, ...et futurum putamus ut nobiscum iudicet, in censum Martyrum antiquorum traducta esse plurimorum nomina, qui neque Martyres nec antiqui sint habendi."

After exposing certain other fables contained in the Martyrology by like methods, that is, by internal evidence, and not by Palaeography, Papebroch begs the Fathers and nobility of Brescia not to be offended at what he has proven concerning the non-existence of some of their second century saints, and he concludes the whole Propylaeum by repeating once again the sentiment which lay at the foundation of all his work, viz., "Uni scribimus et studemus veritati".¹

This then is Papebroch, a man who, motivated by truth alone, strove to attain that truth by methods both old and new. A combination Diplomatist and Palaeographer, he used the former science in a manner which equalled, if it did not surpass, that of Conring, the outstanding diplomatist of the 17th century; while, as a palaeographer in embryo, he attacked his problem in the proper way, that is by comparing the script of one document with that of another, but he failed to see, as we have said before, that he could not possibly arrive at general principles by examining merely ten specimens. However, his complete docility and humility in the face of Mabillon's great masterpiece as compared with his own meagre offering reveal to us the fact that Papebroch was interested not in any glory that might come to him from his excursus into this new

1. Ibid., #53.

science but rather to the end product which that science would bring forth, namely truth and certitude about the relative value of the multitudinous mss. which filled the monastic archives of Europe. In Papebroch, thus, we have one of the truly great men of the 17th century.

CHAPTER VISCHOLARS WHO MADE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SCIENCE
OF PALAEOGRAPHY

In the last two chapters we have examined and evaluated the contributions made to the science of Latin Palaeography by men who initiated their works or parts thereof for the purpose of studying either one particular script (Garibay, Parker, Vulcanius, Aldrete and Junius) or the whole gamut of scripts (Palatinus, Hamon, Augustin and Papebroch). But not to be passed over in this survey are the innumerable critical observations of scribes, antiquarians, librarians and other scholars who, while they did not make an intensive study of script, yet, upon examining a certain ms., were fascinated enough by it to say that that ms. was written 'literis saxoniciis' or 'literis longobardiciis', etc. Each such remark, small and inconsequential as it may seem, evinced an interest in script and succeeded in laying the foundation for Mabillon's magnificent work.

In this group must be included the unknown scribes, copyists and librarians who, when making a rescript of a document or a catalogue of the books and mss. contained in the archives of a library or monastery, referred especially to the name of the script found therein, at times even adding a descriptive phrase concerning it. With these must be considered those scholars whose identity we know, all of whom have contributed, to a greater or less degree, to the

science of palaeography. These we shall treat first, in order of their appearance, not their importance.

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Early editors of Latin Classics seemed to have little interest in the mss. they used, no less the script in which they were written. Thus most of them neglect to mention their sources and seem content to dwell on the inherent merits of either the work which they are editing or the person to whom they chose to dedicate it.

Giovanni Andrea Bussi, (1417-1475), Bishop of Aleria, who edited at Rome the earliest impressions of Apuleius (1469), Caesar (1469), Aulus Gellius (1469), Livy (1469), Lucan (1469), Vergil (1469), The Epistles and Orations of Cicero (1470 and 1471 respectively) and the Gloss of Nicolas de Lyra only once mentions mss. in these first

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1. Cf. Joannis Ant. Campanus' edition of the Quintiliani Institutiones (1470); Suetonius (1470) and Ciceronis Philippica (1470); Pomponius Laetus' edition of Nonius Marcellus, Rome 1470, Terence and Varro, Rome 1471; Francis Puteolanus' edition of Ovid, Bonn 1471; of Plinii Junioris Panegyricum, Milan 1476, and Tacitus, Milan 1475; Louis Carbo's edition of Plinii Junioris Epistolae, Venice 1471; Antonius Zerotus' Pomponius Melam., Milan 1470; Bartholomew Gerardinus' Ausonius, Venice 1472; George Alexander Merula's Plautus, Venice 1472, Scriptores de Re Rustica, Venice 1472, and Martial, *ibid.*; Angelo Sabinus' Ammianus Marcellinus, Rome 1474; Domitius Calderinus' III Quintiliani Declamationes, Rome 1475; Bonus Accursius Pisanus' Historiae Augustae Scriptores, Milan 1475; Barnabas Celsanus' Claudian, Vicenza 1482; Jo. Sulpitius Verulanus' Vitruvius, Rome 1486 and Scriptores De Re Militari, Rome 1487; and Alexander Minutianus' Cicero, Milan 1498-9; all of these prefaces are reprinted in Praefationes et Epistolae Editionibus Principibus Auctorum Veterum by B. Botfield, Cambridge, 1861.

editions of the Classics, and that occurs in the prefatory epistle to Virgilius Maro, Publius, Opera quae exstant omnia,¹ wherein he states that his readers will, in his opinion, be remiss if they shall not forward to him "veriora...exemplaria" which they may have in their possession. But in his 1471 "editio princeps" of the Letters of Cyprian, he states that he copied the letters from "vetustissimo exemplari", which he had found in Paris.² Sabbadini, however, identified this codex as Paris, lat.1659, a manuscript of the 12/13th century.³ Thus Andrea, as will be seen in others of his age, showed little judgment in the use of the word "vetustissimo".

J.Grasiolarius Christoforo de Priolis, who is responsible for the first edition of the Declamations of Quintilian,⁴ is almost unique among these early editors in explaining that he had carefully and zealously prepared his work

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1. Joannis Andreae, Episcopi Aleriensis, Ad Paulum II, Pont. Max., Epistola, in Virgilius Maro, Publius, Opera quae exstant omnia; ex recensione Joannis Andreae...Roma, circa 1469; reprinted in Botfield, op.cit., p.100.
 2. "...olim adolescens famatissimis in scholis parisiensibus agens, quo propter urbis celebritatem et studiorum fervorem atque animi cultum capessendum concesseram, ex vetustissimo exemplari eas (Cypriani epistolas) manu mea descripseram". Quoted by R.Sabbadini, Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini et Graeci ne Secoli XIV e XV, in Firenze, G.C.Sansoni, Editore, 1905, p.122.
 3. Ibid., p.122.
 4. "J.Grasiolarius Christoforo de Priolis...salutem dicit." Editio Princeps of Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius, Declamationes XIX, ex recensione Jacobi Grasolarii, Venice 1481, reprinted in Botfield, op.cit., pp.172-3: "...antiquis exemplaribus inspectis sollicitoque studio perlectis, ne quid ulla ex parte mendosum esset..."

from "antiquis exemplaribus".

Francis Michael Ferrarinus, editor of the "editio princeps" of Marcus Valerius Probus, mentions his source material, but in a derogatory manner.¹ In much the same way speaks Thadaeus Ugoletus, whose edition of Quintilian appeared in 1494. He too laments the wretched condition of his manuscripts but, like the others, makes no mention of the script in which they were written.² His edition of Claudian (Venice 1500) was prepared "collatis...antiquissimis tribus codicibus et praesertim quodam venerandae vetustatis,³ quem ex Germania attuleram."

Alexander Minutianus, who in 1498-99 edited all the extant works of Cicero, refers to his sources but again only to indicate their wretched condition; for although they seemed to him to have been copied from the one lacerated

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1. Probus, Marcus Valerius, Berytius, Grammaticus. Significatio litterarum antiquarum, ex recensione Francisci Michaelis Ferrarini (Brixiae), 1486, Editio Princeps: "His proximis annis optumi grammatici Valerii Probi de notis antiquis libellus ad manus meas pervenit, vel diturnitate temporum incisus, vel librarorum inscitia admodum mendosus." Botfield, op.cit., p.175.
 2. Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius. Declamationes CXXXVIII; ex recognitione Thadaei Ugoleti, Parmae...1494. Editio Princeps. "Nam cum trifaria exemplaria depraventur appositione aut commutatione aut subtractione, multaque huiusmodi essent in his libris corrosio, squallidis, ac carie obsitis, utpote nuper, e ruderibus erutis, quae ex unico exemplari emendare desperarem, malui ut qualescumque essent tuo auspicio in lucem postliminio redirent, quam a tineis (ut major earum pars) corroderentur." Botfield, op.cit., p.185.
 3. Sabbadini, op.cit., p.143, n.21.

and lacunar archetype, yet so far had they degenerated from that parent ms. that even Cicero, if he were able to live again, would scarcely recognize them as his own creation.¹

Beatus Rhenanus, who is responsible for the "editio princeps" of the Historiae Romanae of Paterculus, calls his codex "vetustum",² but he does not appear to be aware of the fact that the absence of punctuation or inter-verbal spacing was one of the best indications in proof of the antiquity of his ms. Rather he seems to blame the copyist who, he dares to say, knew not a word, for everything in his copy was so confused and "absque ullis punctis aut distinctionibus". And thus, he says, and here he merely echoes a thought found in most of these prefatory epistles to the "editiones Principes", that great credit is due to him for

1. Cicero, Marcus Tullius. Opera quae extant omnia, ab Alexandro Minutiano, in unum collecta, Milan 1498-99. "Quare ex diversis bibliothecis, compluribus conquisitis Ciceronis operibus, quae in nostram hanc aeditionem consulerem, etsi ex unico exemplari lancinato (ut arbitror) et cariosa descripta videbantur, ab illo tamen temporum culpa ita degenerarunt ut ab ipso Cicerone, si reviviscerem, vix sua agnoscerentur." Botfield, op.cit., p.223.
2. Paterculus, Publius Velleius, Romanus Historicus. Historiae Romanae duo volumina per Beatum Rhenanum ab interitu vindicata. Basil, 1520, Editio Princeps. "Ausim jurare eum qui illum descripserat ne verbum quidem intellexisse, adeo omnia erant confusa absque ullis punctis aut distinctionibus. Quodsi tu scires quam ego laborarim in his fragmentis utcunque restituendis, credo fateberis te mihi non nihil debere. Neque enim quia tu multa absque offensione legis, idcirco codex planus erat; imo nihil erat non depravatum, in singulis pene verbis haerebatur. Fatebuntur me vera dicere, quicunque vetustum codicem inspexerint, qui in Murbacensi bibliotheca adhuc asservatur." Botfield, op.cit., p.351.

the work which he has done in restoring these fragments in which "nihil erat non depravatum".

Reference to any of the common designations of script is rarely made by the Humanist scholars of the 14th and 15th centuries, for they in describing a ms. recently acquired or examined by them seemed content to indicate, and sometimes erroneously, that the ms. in question was "vetustissimus" or "vetus". Often, however, they report that a ms.

1. One of the best of these early prefaces from a critical point of view, but unfortunately contributing little to palaeography, is that of Jerome Frobenius to the Rerum Gestarum Libri XVIII of Ammianus Marcellinus, Paris, 1544. In this he too seems satisfied to speak of his "vetustum exemplar", its value, his manner of correcting it, and the source of its errors, but he gives no indication of the script. However, so sound are his critical principles that I shall repeat them here. "Nos nacti vetustum exemplar manu descriptum innumera loca castigavimus, lacunas aliquot explevimus scribarum incuria praetermissas...Nihil autem horum ex inani conjectura, quae saepe fallit, dum in suo quisque commento sibi pulcher est, sed ex fide vetusti codicis. Non fugit nos ab utrisque peccari, tum ab iis qui nimium fidunt manu descriptis codicibus, quasi protinus rectum sit, quicquid in illis invenitur, tum ab iis qui de suo capite mutant, adimunt, addunt quod libet. Nos quanquam inter Scyllam et Charybdim medium cursum tenere studuimus, tamen in priorem partem maluimus esse proniores...Depravationis magna pars hinc fluxisse videtur, quod haec tum vel discipulis vel notariis dictabantur, qua gravi molestia nunc omnes sublevavit typographorum industria. Vox autem dictantis ad excipientium aures praesertim, ut fere sunt, imperitorum, non eadem pervenit...Et hinc quoque lacunae frequentes, dum excipientem aut vox aliqua fugit, aut notarii manus linguam dictantis non assequitur. Sed immedicabilius est, quod induxit sciorum inconsulta temeritas, delentium quod non intelligunt, substituentium quicquid collibuit...". Botfield, op.cit., pp.428-30.

was written in "antiquis litteris", an expression which could embrace any of the varieties of the Roman script, (Capital, Uncial and Semi-Uncial), but when it is recalled that the Humanists, weary of the intricacies of the Gothic script, had looked with admiration at the beautiful minuscule of the Carolingian age and set out to imitate it in the script which is now called the Humanistic, it can be safely concluded that their idea of "antiquae litterae" was the Caroline Minuscule, particularly when some of the mss. so designated by them may be identified today as exempla of that script.

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Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), to whom is credited the inauguration of the critical method of the humanists, (collation of mss., variants, hypotheses) referred to a Ciceronian ms. as "antiquissim³o", and Francisco Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), the Italian Humanist who uncovered numerous works of antiquity among which were the Orations and

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1. Cf. A.Giry in the article on Palaeography in La Grande Encyclopedie, Tome Vingt Cinqüeme, Paris, pp.835-57.
 2. Cf. Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte, Treves-Treccani-Tumminelli, 1933-41, Vol.30, p.568.
 3. "Reperi (sic) in antiquissimo codice libellum de differentiis Ciceronis". This ms. has been identified by Sabadini, op.cit., p.35, n.60, as Cod.Paris 6357.
 4. Larousse du XX^e siecle 5, Part 2, p. 658.

Rhetorical works of Cicero (particularly the Brutus), twelve comedies of Plautus, the works of Quintilian, Lucretius, Statius, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, Columella, Celsus and Frontinus, described a ms. of Ammianus Marcellinus¹ as follows:

Ammianum Marcellinum ego latinis musis restitui cum illum eruissem e bibliothecis ne dicam ergastulis Germanorum. Cardinalis de Columna habet eum codicem, quem portavi, litteris antiquis, sed ita mendosum, ut nil corruptius esse posset.

This ms., written, as he says, in "litteris antiquis", is today in the Vatican library, (Vatic.1873) and was written,² Sabbadini says, in the 10th century.³ Chatelain, however, assigns it to the 9th century and gives a specimen of it (Plate CXCV), which reveals the script as Caroline Minuscule.

In a letter to Niccoli, Poggio once wrote: "Mittas etiam libellum Nonii Marcelli, quem ad te misi cum aliis rebus ex Parisio, scriptum litteris antiquis".⁴ This ms. has not been otherwise identified, but when it is recalled that all the worthwhile mss. of Nonius Marcellus (Lugdunensis-Vossianus lat.fol.73, Gudianus 96, Geneviensis 84,

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1. Poggio Epistol. II, p.375, quoted by Sabbadini, op.cit., p.80, n.39.
 2. Sabbadini, op.cit., p.80, n.39: "Ora è il cod.Vatic. 1873. sec. X (Libri XIV-XXXI) e proviene da Fulda".
 3. Chatelain, Paleographie Univers. Vol.II, p.27.
 4. Poggio Epistol. I, p.148, quoted by Sabbadini, op.cit., p.83, n.52.

Bernensis 83, Oxoniensis-Bodleianus, Canon. Class. Lat. 279, Harleianus 2719 and Laurentianus 48,1) belong to either the 9th or the 10th century, we have further proof of Poggio's conception of "antiquae litterae".

In another letter to Niccoli, dated June 5, 1428, he says: "Philippicas Ciceronis emendavi cum hoc antiquo codice, qui ita pueriliter scriptus est, ut in iis quae scripti, non conjectura opus fuerit, sed divinatione". Either one of these two mss. herein indicated may be the ms. now in Rome (Basil. S. Peter. #H.25), which Chatelain calls uncial of the 8th century, but which Hall assigns to the 9th.

When Guarino (1370-1460), the most ancient Hellenist of Italy, in 1419 uncovered in Venice a ms. of Pliny's Letters, he went to great lengths to describe it, declaring the beauty of its letters and its excellent condition despite the ravages of the years. Even the arrangement of

1. Hall, Companion to Latin Texts, Oxford, 1913.

2. Sabbadini, op.cit., p.127, n.5.

3. Chatelain, op.cit., Vol.I, Plate XXVI.

4. Hall, op.cit.

5. Born at Verona, Guarino studied Latin at Venice and Greek at Constantinople. Returning to Italy he taught Greek at Florence, (1402), Venice (1415), Verona (1424) and Ferrara (1436) where he remained until his death. His son, Giovanni-Battista Guarino, taught Greek and Latin at Ferrara and numbered among his pupils Aldus Manutius and Angelo Politian. Cf. Larousse du XX^e siècle 3, Part 2, p.897, and Enciclopedia Italiana di S. etc., Vol.18, p.27 sq.

each page did not escape his attention ("in paginis ternae tendantur columnae, quasi rectissimi arborum sulci"), but again as in the case of the former scholars, there is no designation of the script.¹ Sabbadini, however, suggests that the writing in three columns would lead you to believe that the script was uncial.²

In April of 1426 Antonio Beccadelli, more commonly known as Panormita, another of the Italian Humanists, sent Guarino a description of a ms. of the Medicina of Cornelius Celsus, in which he refers to the "pulchra" and "vetusta littera" and describes even the color of the parchment but fails to designate the script.³ If this ms. which Panormita saw was that which is now in the Basilica of St. Peter, (Bibl.Capit. H.44), it can scarcely be called "vetustus" for that ms., written in Beneventan,

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1. "Epistulae sunt Plinii singulari veneratione; litterarum facies perpulchra et inter annorum rugas splendide vicens et, ut diceret Virgilius, cruda deo viridisque senectus. Voluminis forma in angustum magis quam lata, ut ejus in paginis t. t. c. q. r. a. s. In octo divisus est libros et epistulas circiter CCXX. Nulli deest titulus: aliquas transcurri: emendatissimae mihi visae sunt et, quod non laetitiae solum sed etiam admirationi fuit, in tanta vetustate et aetate jam decrepita nusquam delirare videntur". Sabbadini, op.cit., p.96, n.43.
 2. Sabbadini, ibid., "L'essere a tre colonne ci fa credere che la scrittura fosse unciale". Cf. Ludwig Traube, Palaeographische Forschungen, IV Teil, Munchen 1904, Abhandlungen der k.Bayer. Akad. der Wiss. cl.III, Vol. XXIV, pp.28-29.
 3. "Pulchra etenim, vetusta littera, nec ab indocto quidem librario, transcriptus est; membranarum color ex albo in pallidum diffusus, litterarum vero subglaucus; etc." Sabbadini, op.cit., p.99, n.52.

is assigned to the 12/13th century.

The inventory of the books of Angelo Decembrio, made¹ around 1466, contained the following entries:

Omnia opera Ovidii minora in duobus voluminibus
vetustissime et pulcherrime scripta...Lucanus
antiquissimus, Martialis antiquissimus...
Servius antiquissimus...Josephus antiquissimus
cum Aegesyppo in littera que dicitur longubarda.

This reference to the script which is called "longubarda" is one of the few such to be found among these 15th century scholars. The ms. referred to may be an 11th century ms. (Bibl.Laurenziana 66.1), the script of which, Lowe says, "is unmistakably Cassinese of the early 11th² century.

Cardinal Jean Jouffroy was the man who, Aurispa³ says in a letter to Panormita, "primo commentum Donati in Virgilium in Italiam apportavit".⁴ Sabbadini thinks that this is the same codex (Laurenz.45.15) about which Peter Crinitus wrote in February 1496:

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1. Published by A.Capelli in Archivio Stor.Lombardo, 1892 110-117; quoted by Sabbadini, op.cit., p.138, n.9.
 2. Lowe, The Beneventan Script, p.71.
 3. Aurispa, an Italian scholar of the 15th century (1369-1459).
 4. "Monachus ille, qui primo Commentum Donati in Virgilium in Italiam apportavit, nuper Romam cum cardinale Burgundiae venit. Is est et doctus et solers antiquitatis indagator, quamvis Gallus; dicit se invenisse in tres Plauti comoedias commentum etiam Donati. A me sollicitatus misit in Galliam pro illis..."Romae VIII Kal.februarias (1447). Quoted by Sabbadini op.cit., p.194.

Venit in manu nuper Tiberii Donati commentarium super libros quinque Aeneidos Vergilianae. liber autem hic ex supellectile Petri medicis est. hinc commodavit Andreas Martellus, qui cum hoc ipso multa et alia subripuit, ut alias testati sumus. miratus in hoc sum antiquitatem litterarum, est enim exaratus litteris langobardis.¹

But Lowe says that the script of Laurent.Ms. 45-15, mis-² takenly called Lombardic, is actually Insular.

Thus though the early humanists can be charged with vagueness concerning the script of mss., the same can not be said about a later member of that group, Angelo Politian.

Born in Tuscany in 1454 and educated principally³ through the gratuities of the Medici family, Politian was at the age of fourteen the author of a poem in Italian, "Stanze per la Giostra di Guiliano de Medici", which, together with other poetic offerings, won for him acclaim both as a poet and as a refiner and improver of his vernacular tongue. Appointed tutor to the children of

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1. Quoted by Sabbadini, op.cit., p.206.
 2. Lowe, op.cit., p.28, n.1.
 3. For information on the life of Angelo Politian cf. Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, Joannes Picus of Mirandula, Actius Sincerus Sannazarius, Petrus Bembus, Hieronymus Fracastorius, Marcus Antonius Flaminus and the Amalthei, by the Rev.W.Parr Greswell, Manchester, 1805; Le Quattrocento; essai sur l'histoire littéraire du XV^e siècle italien. Paris, Perrie et Cie, 1912, Vol.II, pp. 60 sqq., 68 sqq., 447, by Philippe Monnier.

Lorenzo de Medici, he combined with that task the position of public professor of Greek and Latin in the Florentine academy.¹ Hitherto the Greek chair at Florence had been occupied exclusively by natives of Greece, but the talents of Politian became so celebrated that students from all over Europe turned to Florence, drawn by the magnetism of Politian's fame. He penned also some Latin poems (Sylvae, Manto, Ambra, Nutricia) which, despite their imperfections, entitled him to the distinction of the earliest and best restorer of Latin poetry after the age of Petrarch and Dante.²

Upon his entrance into the priesthood, he was appointed, again through the kindness of Lorenzo, canon of the Cathedral of Florence, living generally under the same roof with his patron, while he cared for and arranged the mss. and books of his library.³

In the early part and middle of the 15th century, the arrival in Europe of scholarly Greek exiles, the discovery of ancient mss., and the invention of printing,

1. Ibid., p.29.

2. Ibid., p.37.

3. Concerning Lorenzo's intense interest in his library, cf. epistle of Nicolaus Leonicens to Politian, published in Angeli Politiani Operum, Epistolarum libros XII, ac Miscellaneorum Centuriam I, complectens, apud Seb.Gryphum, Lugduni 1539, p.44: "...ac gratia Laurentij Medicis, maximi hac tempestate studiorum patroni, qui missis per universum terrarum orbem nunciis, in omni disciplinarum genere libros summa ope conquirat, nulli sumptui parcat, quo tibi, ac reliquis praeclaris ingeniis bonarum artium studia aemulantibus, instrumenta abundantissima paret."

together with other contributing causes, brought about renewed interest in the arts and sciences, and particularly in classical literature. Men now set themselves with incredible ardor and diligence to collating mss. of Greek and Latin authors, determining original texts, explaining original texts, and translating whole works into various languages (e.g. French, Italian). Politian took no small part in this revival, for his Miscellanea, published first in Florence in 1489 and reprinted in Lyons in 1539, are, like the Noctes Atticae of Gellius, a melange of interesting comments on sundry matters of especial importance to people interested in the revival of learning. Dedicated to Lorenzo, they were published at his behest, as can be seen in the preface:

Cum tibi superioribus diebus, Laurenti Medices, nostra haec miscellanea inter equitandum recitarem, delectatus arbitror novitate ipsa rerum et varietate non illepida lectione, hortari coepisti nos ut unam saltem ex eis centuriam (nam centenis libri capitibus explicantur) publicarem.

Among Politian's many comments on mss. we find some which manifest an interest in the script in which they were written. Once, for example, when defending the reading 'diffissum' for 'diffusum' in a passage from the Digesta of Justinian, Politian based his claim

1. Ibid., "Ad Laur. Med. Praefatio."

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on the fact that a ms. of the Digesta then in the court at Florence and undoubtedly the archetype itself contained the word defended by him. This ms., he says, a portion of the loot and spoils of Pisa, and written 'maioribus characteribus, nullisque intervallis dictionum', contains at least in the preface, certain notes which seem to have been inserted by the author rather than by a librarian and excerptor.

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The ms. about which Politian was talking, was, without doubt, the "Codex Pisanus", otherwise designated "Laurentiana Justiniani Digesta seu Pandecta", a specimen of which appears in Lowe's Codices

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1. Ant. Augustin, Emendationum et Opinionum libri IV, c.1546, commends the talent and learning of Politian and affirms the debt owed to him by lovers of 'Jus Civile'. But, he says, it is easier to enumerate the places in that code which Politian did not restore than those which were corrected by him: "Quis Ang. Politianus fuerit, quo ingenio, qua eruditione, ignorat, ut opinor, nemo: quantum vero ei Juris Civilis amatores debeamus, non multis compertum est. Quotus enim quisque existimat nos, praeter unam atque alterum locum, quos in Epistulis, et Miscellaneis emendavit, ei accepto ferre oportere? Sed mihi multo facilius esse videtur ea loca enumerare quae Politianus, aut qui a Politiano acceperunt, non restituerunt, quam quae eius causa emendata sunt."
 2. Miscellanea, Ch.41, pp.587-9: "Diffissum autem legendum, non diffusum, quod omnes habent hi ferme libri, qui sunt in manibus. Atqui volumen ipsum Justiniani Digestorum, seu Pandectarum, dñbio procul archetypum, in ipsa curia Florentina a summo magistratu publice adservatur...Est autem liber haud quota spoliolum, praedaeque Pisanae portio, saepe a consultis citatus, maioribus characteribus, nullisque intervallis dictionum, nullis item compendiariis notis, quibusdam etiam, saltem in praefatione, velut ab auctore, et a cogitante, atque generante potius quam a librario, et excerptore inductis, expunctis, ac superscriptis...In Pandectis his, non iam Pisanis, ut quondam, sed Florentinis...Diffissum reperio non diffusum."

Latini Antiquiores III, #295, written in 6th century uncial and mixed half uncial. Thus Politian accurately identified both the age and the script and inserted the additional notation about the absence of separation of words, which to him apparently indicated great antiquity.

When Politian saw the Vatican ms. of Terence (Vat. 3226) which is called Bembinus from the name of its owner, Bernard Bembo, father of the celebrated Peter Bembo, he was so enthused by it that he wrote on fol.11 of the ms.: "Ego Angelus Politianus homo vetustatis minime incuriosus nullum aeque me vidisse ad hanc diem codicem antiquum fateor". This ms., as is well known, was written in Rustic Capitals and can be assigned to the 5th century.¹

In another chapter of the Miscellanea, Politian defends the use of the word 'potest' in place of 'potestur' in the following line of the Aeneid, (Book VIII, 402): "Quod fieri ferro, liquido ve potestur electro". Politian says that he is ashamed to report the fact that that error remained unnoticed for so long, since in that very old ms.

1. Cf. Emile Chatelain, Paléographie des Classique Latins, (Premiere Partie, Paris 1884-92, p.2, in which Chatelain describes Plate VI, a facsimile of this ms. Other facsimiles appear in Mabillon, De Re Diplomatica, Tab.VI, #3; Nouveau Traite de Diplomatique des Benedictines, t.III, p.35; Silvestre, Paléographie Universelle, Plate 100.

which is in the Vatican library and which was written "grandibus characteribus", the word 'potest', not 'potestur'¹ is found. On another occasion, when writing to Philip Posco,² a friend, he remarks about an "antiquissimus Vergilianus" which was then preserved in the Palatine library and which was written "maiusculis characteribus".³ Sabbadini identified this as Vatic. 3867, a 5th/6th century ms. in Rustic Capitals, which philologists designate with the mark R (Romanus). Chatelain also identifies this as Vat.lat.3867, but assigns it to the 6th century, adding that it was called "Romanus" "à cause de son écriture qui ressemble aux caractères des inscriptions et des monnaies romaines."⁴

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1. Miscellanea, Ch.70, p. 637: "Pudet referre quam manifestum, sed nondum a quoquam (quod sciam) nisi nobis indicibus animadversum, mendum Vergilianis codicibus inoleverit lib. Aeneid octavo:
Quod fieri ferro, liquido ve potestur electro
Caetorum in volumine illo, quod est in intima Vaticana bibliotheca mire vetustum, et grandibus characteribus perscriptum, non potestur offendas, sed potest usitatus verbum."
 2. Politian Epist. Liber IIII, p.124: "...Adstipulatur etiam huic scripturae ille codex antiquissimus Vergilianus, qui istic in intima Palatina bibliotheca adservatur, maiusculis characteribus exaratus, de quo paucula mecum recognoscas."
 3. Sabbadini, Le Scoperte etc., p.153.
 4. Chatelain. op. cit., p.18.

Politian also refers to a very old ms. of Columella belonging to the private library of the Medici family "litteris Langobardis exaratus"¹. But no mention of a Beneventan Ms. of Columella has been made in Lowe's Handlist of Beneventan MSS.² Since Sabbadini³ says that the ms. referred to by Politian is today Ambros. L.85, and since Steffens says that Ambros. L.85 is "spitze Angelsächsische Schrift",⁴ we have here another instance of the improper application of the term "Longobardic" to scripts other than Beneventan.⁵

In the public Medicean library of S.Mark, he found a "liber vetustissimus langobardis litteris" of Martial,⁶ a ms. which, Sabbadini⁷ says, is now lost. The library of Francis Gaddi yielded a "vetustus codex langobardis exaratum litteris"⁸ of Juvenal, and in a library of Firenze he saw a "vetustissimum commentarium"⁹ of Persius in "litteris

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1. Miscellanea, Ch.35, p.577: "...inspiciendum est apud Columellam...quod et vetustissimus indicat liber de privata familiae Medicae Bibliotheca, litteris Langobardis exaratus."
 2. Lowe, The Beneventan Script, pp.334-370.
 3. Sabbadini, op.cit., p.151: "ora cod. Ambros.L.85 sup. sec., IX-X."
 4. Lateinische Paläographie... von Dr. Franz Steffens, Freiburg, 1903, Plate 103.
 5. Lowe, op.cit., p.28.
 6. Miscellanea 23, Epist.VII, 35.
 7. Sabbadini, op.cit., p.152.
 8. Miscellanea 46.
 9. Ibid., 44.

quas Langobardas vocant".

In other passages in the Miscellanea and Letters, when speaking of mss., Politian is content to designate them as "vetustissimi" (Misc.49) or "venerandae vetustatis" (Misc.35). But he, like Orsini and others of the Humanists, is rather careless with the use of these terms, applying them to mss. which dated from the 9th to the 12th centuries, as Sabbadini well states:

...i designati con l'epiteto di 'vetustus', giunti a noi, oscillano tra il sec. IX et il XII, come il Laurenziano del commento di Tib. Donato all'Eneide sec IX (Politian Miscell. LXXVII: "commentarium Tib. Donati...grandioribus notatum vetustis characteribus") l'Etruscus delle tragedie di Seneca, sec. XI/XII, il Neapolitanus di Properzia, sec. XII; con "sane quam vetus, pervetus, vetustissimus, antiquissimus" qualifica codici compresi tra sec. IX-XI; il Valerio Flacco Vatic. sec. IX, il Columella Ambrosiano sec. IX.X; il Vercellensis delle Epist. ad Fam. di Cicerone sec. IX/X, i Gromatici e Plinio N.H. della Laurenziani sec. XI, il Festo Farnese sec. XI. Se di Manilio dice: 'che io per me non ne vidi mai piu antiqui'; bisognerà credere che fosse in maiuscolo o comunque anteriore al sec. IX: e perciò vinceva di molto in età i nostri codici più antichi, che sono dei sec. X-XII e, mancano del nome.

However, despite these shortcomings, there is evident from the extracts above listed an incipient interest in script. As has been said before, almost all the scholars who preceded Politian and certainly a great number of his contemporaries and successors seemed satisfied when

1. Sabbadini, op.cit., p.169.

describing a ms. to report, and sometimes wrongly so, that it was "antiquus" or "vetustissimus", but, while Politian too was overly fond of such expressions, he often went further and attempted to designate the type of script used in the ms.

As with Politian so also, with Muret. For the charge of apathy and vagueness in reference to script can not be¹ hurled against the French Humanist, Marc-Antoine Muret. Born at Muret (Limousin) April 12, 1526, he died at Rome, June 4, 1585. At eighteen he entered upon a teaching career, first at Auch, later at Villeneuve, and finally in 1547 at Bordeaux at the College of Guyenne, where he numbered among his pupils the famous sceptic, Montaigne. From there he went to Paris where he taught with brilliance at the College of Cardinal-Lemoine. His lectures concerned diverse subjects, literature, theology, philosophy and law, and attracted a choice public. Called to Rome by Cardinal de Ferrarre to grace his literary court, Muret taught oratory and philosophy with brilliant success. Several princes sought to attract him to their courts, but Gregory XIII kept him at Rome. In 1576 he entered into the priesthood, in which he conducted himself up to his death in a most edifying manner.

1. Cf. La Grande Encyclopédie, Tome XXIV, Paris.

Muret has made several references to mss., but in at least one such he can be charged with an error. For in a letter to Adrianus Turnebus he reports that he had been granted permission to examine "volumen quoddam perantiquum Philippicarum M.Tulli, quod asservaretur in Bibliotheca Vaticana". This ms., he believed, was written seven hundred years ago (9th century) as could be concluded, he said, both from the shape of the letters and the orthography. For, he continued, the letters in the ms. of the Philippics were similar in several places to those which were in the Florentine Pandecta (C.L.A. 295) and the Bembine Terence (Vaticanus 3226).

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Now this latter ms. is written in Rustic Capitals and has been assigned to the 4th/5th century, while the former, the Florentine Pandecta, is written in Uncial and Mixed Half-Uncial and has been placed in the 6th/7th century. But the ms. of the Philippics (Basil. S.Pet. H.25) has

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been assigned by Chatelain to the 8th and by Hall to the

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9th century, and it is written in late uncial.

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1. For facsimiles of this ms., cf. Chatelain, Paléog.des Class.Latins, Vol.I, Paris, 1884-1892, Plate VI; Mabillon, De Re Diplomatica, Tab.VI, #3; Nouveau Traité de Dipl. de Benedict., T.III, Plate 35; Silvestre, Paléographie Univers., Plate 100.
 2. For facsimiles of this ms., cf. Chatelain, op.cit., Plate XXVI.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Hall, Companion to Latin Texts, p.224.

The text of the letter is as follows:

M. Antonius Muretus S.P.D. Adriano Turnebo:
 Saepe autem audiveram commendari ab hominibus eruditis, volumen quoddam perantiquum Philippicarum M. Tulli, quod asservaretur in Bibliotheca Vaticana... Librum autem ipsum credo equidem ante hos septingentos annos exaratum esse. Quod et ipsa litterarum conformatio ostendit plerisque locis gemina ei, quae in Pandectis Florentinis et in Terentio Petri Bembi visitur, et scribendi ratio, quam *ορθογραφία* vocant, eadem plane quae in iis, quos modo nominavi, libris et praeterea in antiquissimo illo epistolarum Ciceronis cuius exemplum triennium divulgavit P. Victorius.

Muretus thus, as is evident, was accurate in dating the ms., but he erred in placing its script in the same class with that of the Bembine Terence. For although the Uncial script is a development of the Capital script, yet there are sufficient differences between them to enable anyone to make a distinction between them.

His inclusion of these three mss. in the same class is all the more surprising when it is recalled that this is the same man who made the following statement:

Omnia scribebant Veteres iis litterarum formis, quas hodie majusculas vocamus. Neque ulla fere erant inter singulas voces intervalla.

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1. Epistola Scholiis in Ciceronis Philippicas, 1562, reprinted in M. Antonii Mureti Scripta Selecta, Vol. I, Orationes, Praefationes; Vol. II, Epistolae, Variae Lectiones, Leipzig, in Aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1871-3, p. 221.

Punctis interjectis vocem a voce distinguebant.
hoc modo: Quamquam.Te.Marce.Fili.¹

But examination of the Philippics of Cicero (Basil.S.Petri H.25) reveals that in that ms. there was definite separation of words in the majority of cases.

In other instances, when speaking of mss., Muret neglects to mention script and merely refers to a "vetus liber", as in the following:

In eodem autem illo Macrobiani loco leviuscula quaedam praeterea ex veteris libri fide a me emendata erant.²

Atqui his omnes loci ita leguntur etiam in libris proxime a Victorio editis, quos ex optimis omnium exemplaribus cum fide descriptos esse constat.³

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...in satis vetere libro.

Sed cum ipse (Justus Lipsius) quoque ex veteribus libris, quos hic (Romae) nactus erat, 5 multa correxisset...Taciti libros...publicavit.

Egit mecum pro familiaritate nostra, ut eas accurate recognoscerem, adhibitisque veteribus libris iudicioque etiam meo perpurgarem ab iis mendis.⁶

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1. Reprinted in Joannis Clerici Ars Critica, Vol.Secundum, Editio Secunda, Amsterdam, 1700, p.145.
 2. Muret, Variarum lectionum Caput XXXVI (p.168 of Teubner edition)
 3. Ibid., (p.172 of Teubner).
 4. Ibid., XLI. (p.174 of Teubner).
 5. Ibid., XLII, (p.175 of Teubner).
 6. "Epistola Scholiis in Terentium, quae prodierunt Venetiis a 1555". (p.205 of Teubner).

But while continental scholars were on the whole vaguely talking of codices that were "veteres" or "vetustissimi", there was across the sea in England a man who was aware of at least three kinds of script and who seemed to have a fairly accurate knowledge of palaeographical matter. John¹ Leland (1506-1552) was a resident of both Cambridge and Oxford at a time when learning was at a very low ebb in England. Having sought an education on the continent, he returned to England with a great reputation as a scholar and was appointed to serve first as chaplain to Henry VIII, then his librarian, and finally King's Antiquary to "peruse and dylygently to searche all the lybraryes of Monasteryes and collegies of thys your noble realme, to the extent that the monumentes of auneynt wryters as wel of other nacyons as of your owne provynce, mygthe be brought out of deadly darkenesse to lyvelye lyght".² John Bale, his contemporary,³ has said of him:

Thys was Johan Leylande...a man lerned in many sondrye languages, as Greke, Latyne, Frenche, Italion, Spanyshe, Brittyshe, Saxonyshe, Walshe, Englyshe, and Scottyshe...and a moste dylygent serchere of the Antyqutees of thys oure Englyshe or Bryttyshe nacyon,

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1. Eleanor Adams, op. cit., p.12 sqq.
 2. The Laboryouse Journey & Serche of John Leylande for Englandes Antiquities geven of hym as a newe years gyfte to Kyng Henry the VIII in the XXXVII yeare of his Reygne, with declaracyons enlarged: by Johan Bale. Original edition, 1549. Reprinted at the Priory Press, Manchester, 1895, p.31.
 3. Ibid., "Dedicatory Epistle to the Lab. Journ. of Leland," p. 23.

Thus, before the final dissolution of the monasteries, he spent six years searching the kingdom for rare catalogues and other items which would enhance the glory of England's past. Eleanor Adams calls him "a very epicure among antiquaries", further stating:

Whatever may have been his ability as a scholar, there is no doubt that his 'Laborious Journey brought out of deadly darknesse to lyvelye lyght ...the monumentes of auneyent wryters'...Leland was a very epicure among antiquaries. Throughout his notes he shows plainly that his interest in the books he collected centred in the splendid binding, the exquisite illuminations, the beauty of the copy hand. Their polemic interest had little weight with him.

The first part of that statement we do not dispute. The Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea,² which we shall soon discuss, vouches for the number of ancient mss. that were gathered together by Leland. But Leland's own words disprove her assertion concerning his lack of interest in the polemic value of his collection,³ for he said:

Whereas it pleased youre hyghnesse...to encorage me...to peruse...and to searche all the lybraryes of monasteryes and colleges...to the extent that the monumentes of auneyent wryters...myghte be brought out of deadly darknesse to lyvelye lyght ...and (p.35) that the holy scryptures of God myghte both be syncerly taught and learned, all maner of superstycyon, and crafty coloured doctryne of a rowte of Romayne Byshoppes, totally

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1. Adams, op.cit., p.13.
 2. Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea cum Thomae Hearnii Praefatione Notis et Indice ad Editionem Primam. Editio Altera, Vol.IV, London 1770.
 3. The Laborious Journey, p.31 sqq.

expelled oute of thys your most catholyque realme.....

(p.45) And that profyte hath rysen by the aforsayd iourneye, in bryngynge full manye thynges to lyght, as concernynge the usurped autoryte of the Byshopp of Rome and hys complices, to the manyfest and vyolent derogacyon of kyngely dygnyte, I referre my selfe moste humbly to your moste prudent, lerned, and hygh iudgement, to discerne my dylygence in the longe volume, wherein I have made answer for the defence of your supreme dygnyte, alonly lenynge to the strong pyllour of holye scripture agaynste the whole college of the Romanystes, clokyng their crafty assercyons & argumentes, undre the name of one poore Pighius of Ultraiecte in Germany,...

I have given this rather lengthy quote to prove that, with Leland as with Parker, the principal motive behind their awakened interest in Anglo-Saxon documents, and thus in the "scriptura Saxonica" was not the English Renaissance but rather the Reformation. For as Miss Adams¹ herself so ably states:

In order to lay any foundation for their new institutions, the Reformers had to establish a precedent for their beliefs. Such precedent they sought in the liturgy and sermons of the 'primitive church' and in the laws of their Anglo-Saxon forebears. Their first concern was to justify by historical documents their attitudes towards the sacraments, the secular privileges of the clergy and the use of the scriptures in the vernacular.

However, despite the motivating influence behind his laborious journey in search of England's antiquities, Leland did manifest an interest in script, and for that reason his name must not be omitted from any history of Latin

1. Adams, op.cit., p.11.

Palaeography. The following excerpts from the Collectanea¹ give testimony of that:

In the monastery of St. Augustine, Leland says, he found among other things

Philippus super Job...liber venerandae antiquitatis.²

Donatio Augustini pro libertate ecclesiae S. Petri et Pauli Dorobernicae scripta majusculis literis Romanis.³

Psalterium Hieronymi vetustissimum, et majusculis literis Romanis scriptum, quo more constans fama est veteres Romanos scripsisse.⁴

The Donatio Augustini, I have not been able to locate, but the Psalter may be the ms. in the Cotton Library, which⁵ was described by Traube as "kunstliche Capitalis Rustica". Leland's own notation about Roman letters "quo more constans fama est veteres Romanos scripsisse" is indicative of an awakened interest in script among the people of his time.

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1. The Collectanea was first published in 1512 with the following notation:...Collectanea...hic propria auctoris manu exarata, et in quatuor volumina digesta, quae si more inopina vitam non praeripuisset, in meliorem essent ordinem redacta.
 2. Collectanea, p.7.
 3. Ibid., p.8.
 4. Ibid., p.9.
 5. Ludwig Traube, Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen, Erster Band, p.193.

The monks of Eye, Leland reports, once had a monastery in Dunwick, a city in which Felix, the Bishop of the Eastern Angles, had his episcopal seat. From this monastery, now abandoned, the monks have preserved a book which, they say, was the property of Bishop Felix. This is very likely the truth, Leland asserts,

Nam praeterquam quod sit scriptus litteris majusculis Longobardicis, refert vetustatem mire venerandam.

Now, there is a ms. in the Corpus Christi College Library (197), written, Lowe says, in "expert Insular Majuscule" probably in Northumbria in the 8th century, which Tanner supposed to be the "Red Book of Eye". If this should be the case, (Leland does say that this was called 'ruber liber de Eya'), then this would be one more instance in proof of Lowe's assertion³ to the effect that there was such confusion in the use of the term 'Lombardic' that it was used to describe hands as distinct as Visigothic, Insular, Luxeuil type, Corbie type, North Italian pre

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1. Collectanea, p.26: Monachi Eyenses olim habebant coenobiolum apud Dunwic: opp. maritimum, antiquitus Dunmoc dictum, et civitatis nomine insigne, in quo Felix, Orientalium Anglorum episcopus, sedem habuit. Sed postquam sedes alio traducta fuit, veterem occupabant monachi...Eyenses ad huc servant evangeliorum librum reliquias exhausti coenobioli, et a vulgo ruber liber de Eya vocatur, per quem apud vulgus solemne jurare. Monachi constanter adfirmant, librum fuisse Felicis, et certe verisimile est. Nam praeterquam quod sit scriptus litteris majusculis Longobardicis, refert vetustatem mire venerandam.
 2. Lowe, C.L.A., II, 125.
 3. Lowe, The Beneventan Script, p.28.

Caroline, South Italian minuscule, etc.

In his 'laborious journey' Leland also found an "in-scriptio...in quadrato saxo majusculis litteris Romanis¹ sculpta" and a ms. containing

Carmina Abbonis monachi, natione Itali, numero septuaginta, dedicata vero D.Dunstano episcopo Anglo. Scripta erant majusculis literis Romanis, primis, mediis, et ultimis minio coloratis. Ita ut in unoquoque carmine eadem litera et principium et medium et finem obtineret, etc.,²

This I was unable to locate in Traube's list of mss. in the Roman hand,³ but it is unlikely that he would mistake the Roman majuscule for any other.

In addition to several books written in Anglo-Saxon⁴ (Historia Bedae, Saxonice; Pars veteris testamenti, Saxonice;⁵ Orosius Saxonice; Dialogi Gregorii Saxonice,⁶ etc.)⁷ Leland also came upon a "Claudius super Matthaeum scriptus⁸ literis Longobardicis". I looked in vain for such a ms. in Lowe's list of Beneventan mss.,⁹ where you would expect it to be if Leland's identification of the script was accurate. However, in another work of Lowe's, Regula S.

1. Collectanea, p.42.
2. Ibid., p.97.
3. Traube, op.cit.
4. Leland, Collectanea, p.148.
5. Ibid., p.149.
6. Ibid., p.154.
7. Ibid., p.155.
8. Ibid., p.150.
9. Lowe, op.cit., pp.334-370.

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Benedicti Specimina Selecta a Codice Antiquissimo Oxoniensi,

there appears a list of English Uncial MSS., among which is a commentary on Matthew, now in the Hereford Cathedral Library, P. II, 10. If this should be the ms. mentioned by Leland, this would be one more example of the confusion surrounding the identification of the "scriptura Longobardica" i.e., "Beneventana".

Thus to conclude our remarks on Leland as a Palaeographer, we may say that he was able to identify at least the "scriptura Romana" and the "scriptura Saxonica", although he probably confused an Insular Majuscule for a "Longobardic". However, he was familiar with the names of three scripts, which, if you consider his dates (1506-1552) places him in the forefront of our pioneering palaeographers.

No mention of Matthew Parker and John Leland would be complete without reference to John Bale² (1495-1563).

An apostate priest, he was appointed Bishop of Ossary in Ireland by Edward VI in 1552, whence he was expelled

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1. Lowe, Regula S. Benedicti Specimina Selecta e Codice Antiquissimo Oxoniensi elegit... E.A. Lows, Oxford, 1929.
 2. Cf. Eleanor Adams, op.cit., and Books and Manuscripts Formerly in the Possession of John Bale by Honor Mc' Cusker, published for the Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press, London & New York, 1936.

after a brief term of office when, as he said himself, he "shoke the dust of his fete against" the clergy and populace of Kilkenny and departed for Holland. His one regret in leaving Ireland was the fact that the unsympathetic Irish did not give him the time to pack up his prize possession, his library of over four hundred books. However, lest they be totally lost, and so that his heir might know from the titles of what sort they were, he constructed from memory¹ a catalogue of them, which bore the following preface:

Veterum ac Recentiorum Quorundam Librorum Catalogum, in tuam ac sociorum gratiam, Gesnere vir optime, his addidi, quos pulcherrime scriptos, at non typis excusos, quod sciam, Papistarum violentijs coactus, in hoc altero meo exilio, in Hybernia reliqui: ut ex eorum titulis scires, qui et quales sint: ac mihi condoleres eorum jacturam et interitum, nisi Deus illos servaverit.

Now, in this catalogue, Bale makes no mention of script, but describes each ms. in the following manner:

Nennij Brytanni, de origine Brytannorum Chronicon vetustissimum.²

However, since Bale was one of the most voluble of all those interested in "retrieving Saxon Antiquities", and since, as has already been seen, these "Saxon Antiquities" were written in the "scriptura Saxonica", his place in a history of Latin Palaeography is justified. For, it is Bale

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1. Bale, Scriptorum Maioris Brytanie...Catalogus, (1559) quoted by Mc'Cusker, op.cit., p.149.
 2. Ibid., p.149.

who wrote to the king bemoaning

so great an oversyghte in the moste lawfull overthrow of sodometrouse Abbeyes and Fryeryes; when the moste worthy monumentes of this realme, so myserably peryshed in the spoyle. Oh, that men of learnyng and of perfyght love to their nacyon, were not then appoynted to the serche of theyr lybraryes, for the conservacyon of those most noble Antiquities.¹

For, as he reminds the king, he need not tell him "what profyte aryseth by continual readinge of Bokes, specyally of auneyent Hystories after the necessarye searche of the Byble scryptures".² Further on, still lamenting the want-³ on destruction of the monastic libraries, he writes

If there had been in every shyre of Englande, but one solemyne lybrary, to the preservacyon of those noble workes, and preferement of good lernynges in oure posteryte, it had bene yet sumwhat. But to destroye all without consyderacyon, is and wyll be unto Englande forever, a moste horryble infamy among the grave senyours of other nacyons. A greate nombre of them whych purchased those superstycjouse mansyons, reserved of those lybrarye bokes, some to serve theyr iakes, some to scoure theyr candelstyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they solde to the grossers and sope sellers, and some they sent over see to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons...I judge thys to be true, that neither the Brytaynes under the Romanes & Saxons, nor yet the Englyshe people undre the Danes & Normannes, had ever suche damage of their lerned

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1. The Laboryouse Journey and Serche of John Leylande for Englandes Antiquities...with Dedicatory Epistle by Bale. p.4.
 2. Ibid.,p.5.
 3. Ibid.,p.18.

monumentes, as we have seene in our time. Oure posteryte maye wele curse thys wycked facte of oure age, thys unreasonable spole of Englandes most noble antiquytees, unless they be stayed in tyme, & by the art of pryntynges be brought into a nombre of coppyes. The monkes kepte them undre duste, the ydle headed prestes regarded them not, theyr lattre owners have moste shamefullye abused them, & the covetouse merchants have solde them away into foren nacions for moneye. Steppe you fourth now last of all, ye noble men & women (as there are in these dayes a great nombre of you moste nobyllye lerned, prayse be to God for it) & showe your naturall noble hartes to your nacyon...As ye fynde a notable Antyquyte, such as are the hystories of Gildas & Nennius among the Brytaynes, Stephanides & Asserius among the Englyshe Saxons, lete them anon be imprinted, & so brynge them into a nombre of coppeyes, both to their & your owne perpetuall fame.

As we have already seen, this summons was heeded by Matthew Parker, who in 1566 ordered John Day, the printer, to set in brass the first Anglo-Saxon type.

In the meantime, while Leland, Bale and Parker were combing England in search of "Saxon Antiquities" in order that they might thereby vindicate their "Reformation in opposition to Popery", there was under way in Spain another search, undertaken by a distinguished historian of his time, Ambrosio De Morales. Only Morales' exploration of the monasteries of Spain was motivated not by a desire to seek out objects that would tend to militate against the power and authority of the Church, but rather by a burning ambition to unearth any ms., relic or other object which would contribute to the more fervent and

devout worship of God and the veneration of His saints.

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Born in Cordova in 1513, Morales died in the hospital of San Sebastian September 1591. Though his father had been chosen to inaugurate the chair of moral and metaphysical philosophy at the University of Alcalá, Morales did not begin his studies there, but in 1526 or 1527 went with his uncle, the celebrated professor, F. Perez. to Salamanca where he remained until 1533. He then retired to a monastery in the mountains of Cordova, subsequently travelling to Madrid and from there back to Alcalá, where he studied from 1543-1546 under the tutelage of Juan de Medina and Melchior Cano.

He had always manifested a taste for historical studies and in 1541 wrote in Latin a work entitled Memoria Sanctorum qui orti sunt in Hispania vel alibi nati quorum corpora in eadem Provincia seu Regione feliciter requiescunt. He later wrote and probably did not finish an unpublished work called Conquista de Tierra Santa. In 1559 by order of the king he wrote Prisión del arzobispo de Toledo fray Bartolomé de Carranza, and the monarch who years before had distinguished him by naming him rector of the college of San Felipe y Santiago, presented him in 1563

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1. Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana, Tome XXXVI, Espasa-Calpe, S.A. Bilbao, Madrid, Barcelona, pp.900-2.

with a batch of royal chronicles, commissioning him to write his Chronicon. In 1565 appeared his Discurso sobre las antiguedades de Castilla.

In 1573, again on the king's order, he made a visitation of the churches and monasteries of Leon, Galicia and Asturias in search of the relics of saints, tombs and mss. in order that by them added incentive might be given to the zeal already had for the Divine worship and particularly for the veneration of the saints. Thus in the text of the Royal Commission that such a project be executed, the prelates and others in authority were commanded, (as were the monasteries of St. Denis, Fontainebleau, etc. in the case of Pierre Hamon) to give Morales every cooperation in securing an inventory of such possessions. The¹ text of that mandate in part is as follows:

Ambrosio de Morales, nuestro Coronista, sabed que por el zelo y deseo que tenemos del servicio y culto Divino, y particularmente de la veneracion de los Santos, y de sus Cuerpos y Reliquias; y deseando saber las que en estos nuestros Reynos por Iglesias y Monasterios dellos habia; el testimonio, y autoridad que dellas se tenia,

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1. Viage de Ambrosio De Morales, Por Orden del Rey D. Philippe II a los Reynos de Leon, y Galicia, y Principado de Asturias Para reconocer Las Reliquias de Santos, Sepulcheros Reales, y Libros manuscriptos de las Cathedrales, y Monasterios. - Dale a luz...El Rmo...Fr. Henrique Florez, Madrid, 1765, p.2 sq.

la guarda y recaudo en que estaban, y la veneracion y decencia con que eran tratadas; y teniendo asimismo relacion que en algunas de dichas Iglesias, y Monasterios, y otras partes habia libros antiguos de diversas profesiones y lenguas, escritos de mano, e impressos; raros y exquisitos, que eran y podian ser de mucha autoridad y utilidad, en que no habia habido el recaudo y guarda que convenia; escribimos a algunos de los Prelados y Cabildos de estos nuestros Reynos, que nos enbiasen particular relacion de todo lo que en sus Iglesias, y Monasterios habia. etc....

The results of this search are recorded in the Viage de Ambrosio De Morales, written in 1573, but printed for the first time in 1765 by Father Florez. In this work Morales speaks repeatedly of mss. written in "letra Gothica" or "letra Gotica", but, as Cirot¹ has said, and as I have discovered, when Morales speaks of "gotica", it is the Visigothic script that he means. Cirot based his observation on the fact that Morales had stated his difficulty in reading this script, and that since the "scriptura Francesca" of the 12th or 13th century resembled too much the characters used by printers in his own day to have been able to disconcert him, the "letra Gotica" could not have referred to that script but to the Visigothic. I, on the other hand, have drawn my conclusion from an attempt to locate certain

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1. Revue Critique D'Histoire et de Litterature, Année 1924, Nouvelle Serie, Tome XCI, Paris, 1924, pp.334 sqq. for a review by Georges Cirot of Essai sur l' Evolution de la prononciation de castillan depuis le XIV^e siecle d'apres les theories des Grammairiens et quelques autres sources par H.Gavel, Paris, 1920.

of the mss. described as "gotica" by Morales. In every instance the ms. proved to be Visigothic.

Let us now examine some of the entries made by Morales.

In Palencia a canon by the name of Thomas Paz showed him

un libro deshojado de letra gothica, harto antiguo, en pergamino. Fue buen libro, y contenia vidas de Santos escritas por buenos Autores.¹

The church of S.Zoyl de Carrion, he said, had few books, but among them was "uno de Concilios, que con razon puede y debe ser mucho estimado: es de letra Gothica etc".²

In the monastery of Sahagun he came across "unos Concilios de Letra Gothica",³ and an "Aug.Civ.Dei, letra Gothica, y pergamino muy grande",³ and a "Liber Sententiarum Beati Isidor en perg; letra comun". Other books mentioned by Morales as found in that monastery were written in "letra antigua", but what he means by "antigua" might be gleaned from his description of a ms. of Gregory on Ezechiel "in letra harto antigua" which was "escribiose como al fin dice, V.Kalendas Octobris, Era MCCXIII".³ But in 1573, when Morales wrote this description, that ms. would have been only three hundred and sixty years old, an age which could scarcely be called "antigua", especially when applied to mss.

1. Morales, op.cit., p.23.

2. Ibid., p.32.

3. Ibid., p.38.

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In the Church of St. Isidore in Leon there was:

Morales de S. Gregorio de letra Gothica, en pergamino muy grande. Al cabo se parece, á lo que allí escribió el Escritor, como ha mas de seiscientos años que se escribieron. Singular Codice.

This is without doubt the Visigothic ms. now in the Library of St. Isidore, which is listed as follows in Clark's Collectanea Hispanica (p.37).

#553. Bibl. de Saint Isidore; de l'an 951, écrit par Ballarius dans un monastere de saint Vincent. Les Morales de Saint Gregoire.

When Clark further described this ms. on p.198, he informed us that the ms. bore the following subscription: "Ballarius scripsit sub ara dni...era 989". This coincides with Morales' statement that the ms. was written more than six hundred years ago as is proven by a statement at the end.

Morales also found in the Church of St. Isidore the following ms. of Cassiodorus:

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Cassiodorus super Psalmos...letra Gothica: tambien parece al cabo como ha mas de seiscientos años que se escribió. Admirabile Codice.

This is doubtless #552 of Clark's catalogue of Visigothic mss., which he describes in the following manner:

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#552. Leon, Bibl. de Saint Isidore; Cassiodore sur les Psaumes, de l'an 953, écrit par Florent à Valerancia.

1. Ibid., p.51.

2. Ibid., p.51.

3. Clark, op.cit., p.231,

As in the case with the preceding ms., when Clark described it, he gave the following subscription found by him in the ms., which gave Morales the right to say that the ms. was written six hundred years ago: "Explicit liber...era¹ DCCCCLXXXIII¹e".

When Morales travelled on to Oviedo, he found that the church library there had more "libros Gothicos" among which² was

Un volumen grande de Concilios antiquissimo todo de letra Gothica mayuscula, asique es muy diferente de la que comunmente llamamos Gothica, o Mazarave.

It would be interesting to locate this ms. to see why Morales said this script was very different from that which was commonly called Gothic or Mozarabic. Possibly the ms. was, as Morales said, a majuscule Visigothic, which, as we know, had many characteristics of the capitals and uncials of the "scriptura Romana". Thus the letter "A" generally lacks the transversal and was written A; the letter "M" resembles an early uncial M; the letter "T" is similar to an uncial T, and "V" would be like an inverted "A", i.e., V.³

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1. Concerning what appears to be slight incongruities in Clark's dates for both these mss., cf. Agustin Millares Carlo, Paleografía Española, pp.144-5.
 2. Morales, op.cit., p.93.
 3. For the characteristics of the Visigothic Majuscule cf. Carlo, op.cit., pp.79-80, "La escritura Visigótica Mayuscula". For a facsimile of this script, cf. fig.12, p.80 of the same work.

Then in the same majuscule letter and equally old was another book which contained an exposition of the Canticles¹ followed by the Lives of the Saints:

De la misma letra mayuscula, y antigüedad, es otro libro que tiene al principio una exposicion sobre los Canticos...parece muy buena etc.

²
In Toledo Morales found a ms. which contained the De Natura Rerum of St. Isidore together with the Breviarium Ruffi Festi Victoris, at the beginning and end of which there were some notes written in "otra letra Gothica, mas muy diferente de la mayuscula del libro". Moreover, in a sheet at the end of the ms. was a list of the books that Morales believed to have been contained then in a library of the Church of Oviedo, which list, he continues, was written over six hundred years ago "de letra Gotica bien antigua".

Now Clark describes a Visigothic ms., partially palimpsest, now in the Escorial (R II 18), which contains, he says, diverse works of Isidore and some notes in Arabic. Moreover, ff.95-95^{vo} consist of the famous "Catalogus

1. Morales, op.cit., p.93.

2. Ibid., p.93: "Tambien se puede tener de los mismos libros de Toledo, por la semejanza de la letra, y lo demas, un libro donde está lo de S.Isidore: "De Natura Rerum...". Item hay en el mismo libro: "Breviarium Ruffi Festi Victoris" etc: y por que al principio y al fin le faltan algunas pocas hojas, se las añadieron de otra letra Gothica, mas muy diferente de la mayuscula del libro...como en ella parece ha mas de seiscientos años que se hizo, y yo creo que era de los libros que entonces había en aquella libreria de la Iglesia de Oviedo, pues estan agora en ella muchos libros de los contenidos en la lista: ella dice así de letra Gotica bien antiqua.

Ovetensis", written after 882, which is a catalogue of the library of Toledo.¹ It is very possible that these two mss. are identical, for the notes said by Morales to be written in letters different from those of the book may be the notes in Arabic mentioned by Clark, and the list of books of the Church of Oviedo at the end of Morales' ms. sounds very much like the famous "Catalogus Ovetensis" in Clark's description.

There was also in Toledo a part of a ms. of the Homilies of St. Gregory "de letra Gothica muy grande":²

Algunos quadernos de Homelios de S. Gregorio, de letra Gothica muy grande.

This may be a 10th century Visigothic ms. described thus³ by Clark:

#597* Madrid, Bibl. Acad., 38 (Aemil. 40); saec. X Homelies de Saint Gregoire. Ce ms est orné de jolies initiales.

1. Clark, op.cit., #531-532. Escorial R II 18; ante a 779. Oeuvres diverses d'Isidore. En partie palimpseste... Il y a quelques notes en arabe. ---Les ff. 95-95^{vo} (532*) contiennent le fameux Catalogus Ovetensis, écrit après 882; c'est, d'après Beer, un catalogue de la bibliothèque de Tolède." For a facsimile of this ms., cf. Lat-einische Paläographie von Dr. Franz Steffens -- Supplement Zur Erster Auflage, Plate 16, Freiburg, 1903. Steffens says that this ms. contained some sheets written in 7th century uncial and many in Visigothic.
2. Morales, op.cit., p. 96.
3. Clark, op.cit., #597.

After listing a few other "Gothic" mss. of Toledo, Morales then proceeds to describe the others there, among them being a ms. of the Etymologies of St. Isidore, "letra y pergamino como de doscientos años"¹. By this he probably meant either the Gothic, the semi-Gothic or the cursive, each of which was used in Spain during the 14th and 15th centuries.²

Upon arrival at Galicia, Morales found many very ancient books "de letra Gothica", among them one of the Councils.³ Other notations made by Morales are similar to the above. Thus he says, the Cistercian monastery of El Espina has some mss. of the works of St. Gregory and St. Augustine,⁴ the script of which resembles that in use three hundred years ago, viz., the Gothic.⁵ This monastery also has a ms. in "letra Gothica" so ancient that Morales believed it to have been written at the time of the author, who was a co-disciple of St. Eulogius, the martyr.⁶

1. Morales, op.cit., p.98.

2. Carlo, op.cit., p.237: "Tres tipos fundamentales de escritura fueron empleados en los códices producidos en Castilla durante los siglos XIV y XV: el gótico, el redondo o semigótico y el cursivo."

3. Morales, op.cit., p.155.

4. Ibid., p.189.

5. Carlo, op.cit., p.217: "La escritura libraria comunmente usada durante el siglo XIII es la gótica."

6. Morales, op.cit., p.190: "'Albari Cordubensis Scintillarum opus': está escrito en letra Gothica, tan antigua que se puede creer se escribió en tiempo de su Autor, que fue condiscipulo de S.Eulogio Martir, y el que escribió su Vida."

From the above citations it is quite evident that Morales was keenly interested in the script of mss. For, as far as he was concerned, a full description of any ms. examined by him included an indication of the type letter in which it had been written. While the only script mentioned in his work is the "letra Gothica" (i.e. the Visigothic) it must be remembered that the itinerary of his "Viage" included visits to places in Spain only where he would be most likely to meet the greater bulk of mss. in that national hand. Also important to Morales, and here again, he shows a keen palaeographical awareness, was the age of a ms., and although guided in dating a ms. by an inscription appearing therein and not by an evaluation of the stage of development of the script itself, yet he did reveal to the reader who had never had the opportunity of examining the ms. first hand this very important piece of palaeographical information.

Among the most ardent bibliophiles of this age in Italy¹ was Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600). Born in 1529 of an illustrious Roman family, he was entrusted at the age of nine to the care of Gentile Delfini, a canon of the Basilica of

1. For information on the life of Orsini, cf. Bibliothèque de l'École Des Hautes Études-Soixante-Quatorzième Fascicule. "La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini." Par Pierre de Nolhac, Paris, 1887, Chapter I, "Esquisse Biographique", pp. 1-36.

St. John Lateran, who had been attracted to the youngster by his intelligence and happy disposition. Delfini, one of the most erudite of the Roman clergy, asked in 1554 to be relieved of his administrative duties so that he could spend more time on his books. Under such influence it was natural that Orsini should turn to learning. Thus from an early age he manifested a taste for inscriptions, monuments, medals -- in fact any thing that would recall the history of Rome. The knowledge of texts and documents interested him, and he began, while young, to gather methodically the mss. of the ancients.

In 1554 he became the canon of the Lateran Church of St. John, and in 1559 upon the death of Delfini he allied himself with the Farnese's, one of the most important families of Italy. One of its members, Cardinal Ranuccio, brought him with him on a trip to Bologna and Florence in 1565, when Orsini took the opportunity of visiting the Laurentian library for research. Later, Cardinal Alessandro, another Farnese, made him his librarian, in which capacity Orsini was in charge not only of mss. and books but also of antiquities and other objects of art which went to make up the nucleus of the admirable collection of the Farnese family. He also accompanied Farnese on trips by means of which he became friendly with several other

members of the hierarchy.¹

In his will of January 21, 1600 Orsini bequeathed his collection of inventoried books to the Vatican Library.

Quoniam...patrimonialia bona mihi non sunt, quorum causa consanguineorum meorum, si qui sunt, rationem habere debeam, idcirco volens ea bona, quae mihi sunt a Deo collata et industria mea parta et acquisita, in pias causas et in personas bene le me meritis distribui, iure legati do et dono bibliothecae Palatinae, quae dicitur Vaticana, omnes et singulos meos libros tam Graecos quam Latinos; manuscriptos et impressos, in quibus licet impressis est aliqua in marginibus notatio manu doctorum virorum...Volo

1. Cf. "Inedited Letters of Fulvio Orsini to Antonio Agustín" by J.P.Wickersham Crawford in Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Edited by Wm. G.Howard, Vol.XXVIII, New Series Vol.XXI, Baltimore 1913, pp.577-593. One of Orsini's closest friends was Antoine Agustín, and in the dedication of his great work on Numismatics, Familiae Romanae, (1577) to Cardinal Farnese, Orsini acknowledged the aid of Agustín. The ms. of the De Legationibus of Polybius, published by Orsini in 1582, was furnished to him by the Spaniard, and in 1595 Orsini published at Antwerp with copious notes the fragments of the ancient Roman Historians which had been collated and arranged by Agustín. However, despite the existence of a great number of letters from Agustín to Orsini (cf. Analecta Sacra Tarroccensis, Vol.XIII, 1937-1940, Balmaesiana...Duran y Bas, 9-11, Barcelona, "Epistolario Antonio Agustín", Ms.53 of the Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona) only four letters from Orsini to Agustín have been published, and these for the first time in 1913 from ms.5781 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. In one of these letters (March 18, 1567) Orsini (p.587) refers to a ms. of Porphyry of script 700 years old: "Io hō un Porphyrione di più di 700 anni di scrittura". This ms., Vat.3314, is actually a 9th century ms. in Caroline minuscule (cf. Nolhac, op.cit., pp.226 and 275) and thus Orsini is correct here, but in the inventory of his mss. he changed his mind about the date and said that it was "di mille anni come il Terentio Vaticano". But the Terentius Vaticanus (Vat.3868 -- for a facsimile cf. Chatelain, op.cit. Vol.1, p.3 and Plate IX) is a 9th century ms. in Caroline Minuscule. In another letter, (Rome 1581) Orsini informs Agustín of recent acquisitions from Cardinal Bembo: "io molti libri et in spetie il Terentio et il Virgilio in lettere maiuscole", p.591.

autem et a Bibliothecario Cardinali, qui erit pro tempore, enixe peto, ut per custodes Bibliothecae curet in singulis meis libris inscribi:

"Fulvius Ursinus huic Bibliothecae donavit".¹

His great expense throughout his lifetime had been his library and his collections, and to the enlarging of his literary, artistic and archaeological riches he had assigned almost all his income. During his active period of collecting he had managed to acquire part of the library of Colocci, and the library of Carteromachus, and by 1548 he had, through his own patience and the zeal of his friends,² reunited in his own hands all the treasures of the library of Cardinal Bembo. Thus in 1591 Angelo Rocca wrote of him:

Fulvius Ursinus...Bibliothecam habet nobillissimam, tum librorum varietate et bonitate, tum

1. Nolhac, *op.cit.*, p.115.

2. One friend, Claudius Puteanus (Dupuy) was the man who provided Orsini with the Augusteus Virgilius (Vat.3256). For he, in a letter of March 28, 1574 (Ambros.G.77.f.55) quoted by Nolhac, *op.cit.*, p.85, wrote as follows to Pinelli: "J'ai mis parmi vos livres, une feuille d'un Virgile, fort ancien et escrit en lettres capitales, quas unciales vocabant, lequel a este autrefois en l'Abbaie de Saint-Denis en France, et maintenant est espars ça et là tanquam Sibyllae folia; laquelle ie lui (à Fulvio) ai promis longtemps a; et aiant receu vosdits livres vous la lui enverrez en mon nom, s'il vous plait". The Virgilius Augusteus, as is well known, is written in Rustic Capitals, and it is to be presumed that Dupuy here does not intend to say that it was written in Uncials, the Roman script of the 4th-8th centuries, but that he was using the term "unciales" in the same manner as St. Jerome, who in his preface to the Translation of Job (Migne, P.L. 28, c.1083) spoke as follows: "Habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis, auro, argenteoque descriptos, vel uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, litteris onera magis exarata, quam codices; dummodo mihi meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas, et non tam pulchros codices, quam emendatos". Here the word unciales refers to the size of the script.

multarum etiam rerum antiquitate; quamvis enim admodum numerosa libris non sit, codices tamen ii selectissimi sunt fere omnes, et vere singulares, tum Graeci tum Latini...Sunt item inter Latinos libros aliquot codices litteris quoque maiusculis manuscripti, et praesertim Terentius, quem Petrus Bembus Cardinalis olim possedit, tempore Alexandri Severi imperatoris conscriptus...Extat inibi Virgilius, quem prius Pontanus, deinde Bembus possederunt...Hic codex antiquior est Virgilio, qui extat in Bibliotheca Vaticana, nec non Virgilio, qui olim fuit Pomponii Laeti...et in Bibliotheca extat Medicea.¹

The Inventory of his books, signed by Orsini and sealed with his seal, and indicating the books which were to go into the possession of the Vatican library, is preserved today in Ms. Vat.Lat.7205 and is entitled Inventarium Librorum Fulvi Ursini.² The text is very defective, and the scribe appeared not to have known the ancient authors, for he often records their names in a strange and varying manner. Nolzac³ feels that possibly the scribe had to make a copy of the inventory as first written out hurriedly by Orsini himself. Whatever or whoever may be the cause for those errors, only Orsini himself is responsible for the mistakes made in assigning dates to the mss. For when Orsini places a definite

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1. Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana... a fratre Angelo Roccha a Camerino...illustrata. Rome, 1591, pp.400-402, quoted by Nolzac, op.cit., p.109.
 2. Reprinted in Nolzac, op.cit., "Manuscripts Latins", pp.358-381.
 3. Nolzac, op.cit., p.117.

age on a ms., which he does in the case of twenty three of his Latin mss., he errs at least in nineteen instances, by assigning to a ms. an age far greater than what it actually was. Thus a ms. of Martial, (Vat.3294) which he call "antichisso di 800 o 900 anni" (7th or 8th century) actually belongs to the 12th century,¹ and a ms. of Terence and Persius (Vat.3305) thought by him to be "di 700 overo 800 anni"² is a ms. now assigned to the 12/13th century.³ A ms. of Sallust (Vat.3325) which Orsini called "di mille anni" (6th century)⁵ is an 11th century ms. Other errors either equal or approximate the above as may be seen in the accompanying chart, wherein it is evident that Orsini most often over dates a ms. by three to five centuries. This table, moreover, does not take into consideration the many mss. which he designates "antichissimo" and "antico", the latter of which, it is evident, he applies to mss. before the 15th century, while the former he uses to designate mss. written before the 14th.⁶ Thus with Orsini, as with the majority

1. Ibid., p.231.

2. Ibid., p.359.

3. Ibid., p.275.

4. Ibid., p.360.

5. Ibid., p.276.

6. Ibid., p.119: "Entre plusieurs volumes anciens, il devine assement quel est le plus ancien, et le mot antichissimo n'a pas tout à fait dans sa bouche le sens du mot antico: celui ci se rapporte assez souvent aux mss. antérieurs au XV^e siècle; celui la aux mss. antérieurs au XIV^e. A partir du XIII^e siècle, O. n'y voit plus clair du tout, et quand il se met à évaluer en centaines d'années, l'âge de ses volumes, il se trompe généralement de trois à cinq siècles.

of his contemporaries, the expressions "antico" and "antichissimo" must be thoroughly investigated, for more often than not the ms. so designated is neither "antico" nor "antichissimo".

Nor does Orsini give any indication of his basis for saying that one ms. was "di mille anni" while another was "d'antichita di 600 anni". As Nolzac says, he arrives at a knowledge of the age of a ms. "empiriquement".¹ He guesses at the age of a ms. by a comparison of one with the other. Concerning mss. which he could truly say were "di mille anni", i.e. Augusteus Virgilius (Vat.3256) Vaticanus Virgilius (Vat.3225) and Terentius Bembinus (Vat.3226) Orsini keeps a strange silence, although Nolzac asserts that he certainly considered them as belonging to the classical age.²

However, despite his errors, Orsini is to be praised for at least placing emphasis upon the age of each of his mss. To him the age of a ms. was an item important enough to be included in the inventory of his collection.³

1. Ibid., p.119.

2. Ibid., p.276: "Pour le fragment de Dupuy (Vat.3256), le Virgile 3225, et le Terence 3226, Orsini se tait il les croit certainement de l'epoque classique et la du moins sa croyance a pour base les vraisemblances les plus sérieuses".

3. Ibid., p.277: "On voit que les manuscrits précieux par leur age et leur intérêt paléographique tenaient chez Orsini une place importante à côté des oeuvres originales de la Renaissance".

Alon with assigning a date to mss., Orsini also in at least nineteen instances referred to the script. He is quite definite and accurate about his identification of Beneventan script, although of course he calls it 'longobardic'. Thus he says that Solinus (3342), Sallust (3327), the Philippics (3227), Priscian (3313), Servius (3317), Orosius (3340), Juvenal (3286), the Fasti of Ovid (3262), Vergil (3253), Statius (3281), an ancient Lexicon (3320) were all written in "lettera Longobarda", and in each instance Nolhac confirms his decision. Although, the fact that he was not aware of the duration of the "lettera Longobarda" is revealed in his judgment of the Lusi of Vergil (3252), which he claimed was "di scrittura di mill'anni" (6th century, and which actually is a Beneventan ms. of the 9th or 10th century.

His use of the term "di lettera maiuscole" is not nearly as exact, for he applies that designation to the Terentius Bembinus (Vat.3226), Vergil (Vat.3225), and the Vergilius Augusteus (Vat.3256), the three of which are Capital script, and to a ms. of Eugippus (Vat.3320) which is actually written in 11th century Beneventan.

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1. Cf. J.Savage, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 43 (1932) pp.81-87 for bibliography and description.
 2. Nolhac, op.cit., p.358.
 3. Ibid., p.239, and Cf. Lowe, The Beneventan Script, p.28, n.1; and Savage, H.S.C.P. 43 (1932) pp.115-6 for description.
 4. Ibid., p.371.
 5. Ibid., p.242.

Thus, after evaluating Orsini's contribution to the science of palaeography, we may repeat with B.L.Ullman: "No statement of Orsini's can be accepted without verification", but in all fairness to him it should also be stressed, as Nolzac does, that Orsini was writing at a time when Palaeography did not yet exist as a science and that even long after his time fantasy prevailed in assigning dates to mss.

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1. "Poggio's Manuscripts of Livy - Alleged and Actual" in Classical Philology, 28, 1933, University of Chicago Press.
 2. Nolzac, op.cit., p.119.

Contents of Ms.	No. in Vat.Lib.	Script, Orsini.	Script, Nolhac.	Age, Orsini.	Age, Nolhac.
1.Ter- ence	3226	di lett- era mai- uscole	Capi- tals p.237.		5th cent- ury.
2.Vergil	3225	ditto	ditto p.225.		
3.Vergil (Aug)	3256	ditto			
5.Porphyr- ione sop- ra Horat- io.	3314			di mille anni (6th cent.)	9th cent. p.226.
6.Martiale	3294			di 800 o 900 anni. 7th/8th cent.	12th cent. p.231.
7.Lusi di Virgilio	3252	di scrit- tura di mill'anni	d'ecrit- ture lom- barde	6th cent.	9th/10th cent. p. 239.
8.Valerio Flacco	3277	di scrit- tura di mill'anni		6th cent.	9th cent. p.276.
10.Solino	3342	in lett- era longo- barda.	d'ecrit- ture lom- barde		11th cent. p.275.
11.Solino et Sexto Aur. Victore	3343			di 700 overo 800 anni. 8th/9th	10th cent. p.277.
12.Sidonio Apollinare	3421			di 600 anni. 10th cent.	9th/10th. p.264.
17.Terentio con figu- ra et Per- sio	3305	di maius- cole		di 700 o- vero 800 anni. 8th/9th.	12th/ 13th. p. 275.
18.Comment- arii di Cesare	3324			di anti- chita du piu di 600 anni. 10th cent.	12th cent. p.226.
19.Sallust- io.	3325	di lett- era longo- barda	d'ecrit- ture lom- barde		11th/12th p.276.
20.Sallust- io.	3327	di lett- era longo- barda.	d'ecrit- ture lom- barde.		11th/12th p.275.

Contents of Ms.	No. in Vat.Lib.	Script, Orsini.	Script, Nolhac.	Age, Orsini.	Age, Nolhac.
23. Philip- piche di Cicerone	3227	di lett- era long- obarda.	d'ecrit- ure lom- barde. p.275.		
24. Idem	3228			di piu di 500 anni. 11th cent.	12th cent. p.360, n. 24.
25. Paulo Orosio, Eutrop- io et P.Diac- ono.	3339		manu- scrit lombard	d'antichi- ta di 600 anni. 10th cent.	11th/13th cent. p.274.
26. Prisci- ano	3313	in lett- era long- obarda.	La perle de la ser- ie des mss lombards d'Orsini.	di 600 anni. 10th cent.	ecrit en 915. p.276.
27. Servio sopra la Bucolica, Georgica et il pri- mo dell' Aeneide.	3317	in lett- era long- obarda.	d'ecrit- ure lom- barde.	libro antichiss.	10th cent. p.195.
28. Livio, la prima De- cade.	3329		Caroline Minuscule de Chatelain op.cit., Vol.II, p. 6, Pl. CXIII.	di lett- era di 600 anni. 10th cent.	11th cent. p.242.
29. Cicero- ne de in- ventione.	3234			di 700 anni. 9th cent.	12th cent. p.360, n. 29.
30. Paulo O- rosio	3340	di lett- era long- obarda histori- ato	d'ecrit- ure lom- barde.	di 600 anni. 10th cent.	11th/12th cent. p.217.
31. Juvenale	3286	in lett- era long- obarda	d'ecrit- ure lom- barde		11th cent. p.217.
32. Fasti di Ovidio	3262	in lett- era long- obarda	Idem		11th cent. p.274.
33. Lucano	3284			di piu di 600 anni.	13th cent. p.361.

Contents of Ms.	No. in Vat.Lib.	Script, Orsini.	Script, Nolhac.	Age, Orsini.	Age, Nolhac.
34. Donato la gram- matica	3318			d'antichi- ta di 700 anni. 9th cent.	11th cent. p.277.
35. Boetio de Con- solatio- ne	3363			di mille anni. 6th cent.	10th cent. p. 276.
36. Virgilio	3253	in lett- era long- obarda	d'ecrit- ure lom- barde. p.264.		
47. A. Gellio	3452			di piu di 700 anni. 9th cent.	13th cent. p. 224.
53. Statio l'Achill- eide.	3281	in lett- era long- obarda.	d'ecrit- ure lom- barde. p.275.		
135. Galeno sopra li Aphoris- mide Hip- ocrate.	3426			di 600 anni. 10th cent.	12th cent. p. 265, n.4.
160. Eugippo abbate, quasi un compendio di varij scritti di S. Ago- stino.	3320	in lett- era maius- cole.	d'ecrit- ure lom- barde.	piu di mille an- ni. 6th cent.	11th cent. p. 242.
161. Lexicon antico.	3320	in lett- era long- obarda.	d'ecrit- ure lom- barde. p.274.		
163. Cicerone de Tusc- ulane	3246			antico di 900 anni. 7th cent.	9th cent. p. 222.
199. Publio Vittore et Sex- to Rufo	3427	scritto di lett- era maius- cole.	Imita- tion of ancient capitals. p.263.		

The Arabic numerals to the left of each manuscript indicate the number as it appears in Orsini's inventory. The page numbers are from Nolhac, op.cit.

Our next palaeographer was, like his predecessor, interested from an early age in any object which would contribute to a knowledge of the ancient Roman world. Justus¹ Lipsius was born in Belgium in 1547 of a wealthy and honorable family. Having studied Greek, Rhetoric and Philosophy under the Jesuits in Cologne, he expressed a desire when sixteen to enter the Order. His parents however did not sanction such a wish on his part and therefore summoned him home to Louvain. At the age of eighteen he travelled to Rome where he stayed for two years, devoting all his leisure and free time to an inspection of ancient stones and places and anything else of interest in the city and its environs. The Vatican library was made available to him, and he dedicated a great deal of his time to the study of the mss. of Seneca, Tacitus, Plautus, Propertius and others of the ancients. After making a tour of other Roman libraries,² both public and private, he returned to Louvain, from which city he again set out, first to Germany, then Vienna, and finally back to Belgium where he settled down to his life work. He composed several works, among which were De

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1. Cf. "Vita Justi Lipsi" in Justi Lipsi Opera Omnia, pp. xlixlxviiij, Antwerpiae, 1637.
 2. Ibid., p. 1j: "Sed otium et omne liberum tempus dabat inspectioni lapidum, locorum veterum, et si quid in Urbe aut vicinia visendum esset. Vaticana etiam Bibliotheca per eundem...illi patuit: et in Senecae, Taciti, Plauti, Propertii, aliorumque veterum libris mss. invicem comparandis, tempus illud consumpsit. Lustravit...aliasque illustriores Bibliothecas, cum publicas, tum privatas.

Amphitheatro, De Constania, Epistolica Institutio and De Una Religione, and in addition he prepared critical editions of Tacitus and other Latin authors. Concerning his manner of criticism we have the following letter of a contemporary,¹
M. Antonius Bonciarius:

Nam quod ad Criticam attinet, me potissimum in admirationem rapit, quod in scriptis veterum emendandis ita semper est felix, ut, sive inveniatur veram lectionem, sive non inveniatur parem gratiam ab ipsis auctoribus et a nobis lectoribus mereri videatur. Adeo enim quadrat loco, quidquid illi venit in mentem, ut etiam cum fallitur fortasse non fallat expectationem nostram: ipsos autem scriptores, si reviviscant, dubitatu-
os putem, antiquumne suum malint, an Lipsianum novum. Delectat vero etiam illud mirabiliter, quod non satis habet obscurum locum illustrare, involutum explicare, aegrum sanare: sed inter curandum semper adhibet facetum aliquid et ingeniosum, quod quasi leniat praeparetque scriptorem male sanum ad medicinam excipiendam. Ex Collegio S. Bernardi CI I CII

One of the most noteworthy productions of his prolific pen was the treatise De Recta Pronunciatione Latinae Antiquae, written in 1586, the title of which is self-explanatory. When discussing the use of strokes placed over vowels to indicate their long quantity, he makes the notation that such strokes were also employed to take the place of the letters m and n in a certain abbreviated form of script. This practice, however, he adds, was not new, for in ancient books this long mark thus used often gave rise to error with the result that when scribes found words

1. Ibid., p. lxvij.

like Quoties, Vicesimus, Formosus, they wrote Quotiens, Vicensimus, Formonsus, even though the stroke was intended to indicate the quantity of the vowel and not the omission of the letters, m or n.¹

In this work Lipsius treats each letter of the Latin alphabet.² When discussing the letter I, he says that it alone in Roman Majuscule characters towered above all other letters and had a long straight form such as may be seen in the following words: PISO, VIVVS, AEDILIS. However, examination of classic specimens of the old Roman Majuscule script, i.e., Vergilius Romanus, Vat.Lat. 3867 (Rustic Capitals) and the Codex Vercellensis (4th century uncial) as well as several other facsimiles does not substantiate this statement of Lipsius.³ However, he does correctly observe in that same statement, if only in passing, that minuscule

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1. Ibid., Vol.I, p.450: "Nos utimur, sed longe aliorum, et N vel M litterae velut suppositivum eum, compendiarium quodam scriptura, habemus. Quod tamen haud novitij plane inventi videtur. Siquidem in priscis etiam libris hic apex occasionem erroneae istius scripturae praebuit, "Quotiens, Totiens, Vicensimus, Formonsus, Aquonsus", cum scilicet invenissent, "Quoties, Vicesimus, Formosus"."
 2. Ibid., pp.452-3: "...quae sola inter grandes et Romanas illas litteras (nam haec minutae ignotae olim) super ceteras eminuit, et forma ipsa pensilem praetulit ac porrectam."
 3. It is possible that Lipsius is here referring to I-longa, which was used initially and medially to facilitate ease in reading. Unknown in early uncial and semi-uncial mss., its use was tentative and irregular in later ones but quite frequent in early minuscule mss. of Italy, France and Spain. Though ousted by the Caroline reform, it remained in Beneventan and Visigothic mss. Cf. Lowe, Studia Palaeographica, Munchen, 1910.

characters were formerly unknown among the Romans.

The letters B and V, he says, offer some difficulty and confusion, particularly among the Spanish. Look, he continues, at Spanish inscriptions. There you will see Danuvius, Vase, Venemerenti and Placavile for Danubius, Base, Benemerenti and Placabile. On the other hand, you will also find Viba, Cibica, Unibersus for Viva, Civica and Universus. If you examine their mss., you will also find this same error made repeatedly. Look, for example, at the Florentine Pandecta, a ms. which is, Lipsius says, among the oldest in existence, and there you will see on every page this error. Error? Nay, custom. For why should I call it an error when it has been repeated so often by a people?

Another one of Lipsius' many works has importance for us palaeographically. The De Notis² is the twenty seventh of a series of one hundred letters to the Belgians and was probably written between May and August 1597 when he was professor at Louvain. This important letter has formed

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1. Justi Lipsi Opera Omnia, Vol.I, p.459: "...At lapides, vide quam hic Hispani. 'Danuvius: Vase: Venemerenti: Placavile'; sculptum in iis clare vide, pro 'Danubius, Base, etc. Contra etiam 'Viba: Cibica: Unibersus'... pro 'Viva, Civica, Universa'...Jam libros veteres si vidisti, nonne in iis assiduum hunc errorem? Piget exempla adferre. Pandectas saltem Florentinas (quarum aetatem pauci libri scripti aequaverunt) inspice: et videbis in singulis paginis peccatum hoc, non peccatum. Cur enim vere peccatum dixerim, quod peccabant tam vulgo? quin mores iam id, non culpa."
 2. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.381-383.

the basis of all histories of shorthand. It concerned, as is evident from the title, data on Tironian notes. After discoursing on the origin and development of the "Notae", Lipsius presents in their honor some testimony from authors like Martial (Epigr.XIV, 208), Manilius (Astron.IV, 198) and Ausonius (Epigr.146, 16-17 & 21). He then enters upon a brief discussion of their form and shape. Tironian notes, he begins, consisted of both letters and symbols. The letters of the alphabet alone, because of their fewness, would have been insufficient to indicate the many words in the language; and thus, the necessity of symbols. These symbols might be mere dots, or lines, or curves or chains. He had heard that in some libraries there were extant books with lists of these "notae", and he presents the argument that it would be much more useful for men to edit these mss. than certain of the trifles then being written.

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1. Ibid., "De Notis": "...Sed quid aut quales fuere igitur? Inquires. Communiter possum dicere, videri duplices fuisse, litteras et signa. Litteras, ut cum una aliqua hoc aut illud verbi notat: P. = Publius, eadem = pupillus, eadem inversa = pupilla. Item C. = Cajus, conversa ☿ = Caja, et quae talia passim in libris aut monumentis. Sed cum eae paucae essent, signa reperta plerisque verbis notandis. Quidni plerisque? cum ad quinque milia fuisse a Seneca supra dictum? Ea autem alia quadam et minuta facie, ut jure a litteris distinguantur...Ex quibus videas et puncta fuisse, et Lineas, et Flexuras, et Catenationes; nec plura repperi. Aiunt libros alibi in bibliothecis extare harum Notarum: cur non edunt? quanto utilius, quam nugas quasdam hodie atque heri natas? Enimvero periisse utilissimam (ita censeo) artem dolendum est: et reparabilem tamen, si libeat adniti."

On one occasion, when asked the identifying marks of
 an old ms., Lipsius replied as follows:

Quaeris de notis, quibus diudicari libri veteres possint. Sunt triplices: a materie, forma modoque scribendi. Materie, ut membrana, non charta sit et quicquid in ista scriptum, scito pervetus non esse. Forma, quae est in modulo laterum, ut grandiusculae et conspicuae sint, ac raro tenues illae et arctae habent aevum. In modo denique, ut rara compendia sint, ut expriment litteras atque etiam diphthongos. Nam quae crebris illis implexionibus constant et compendiaris notis, sunt aevi recentioris.

This response of Lipsius contains some sound palaeographical information which, though expressed previously and in various manners by his predecessors, yet proves the interest of Lipsius in such matters. Thus he remarks, and correctly too, that the oldest mss. are written on parchment (membrana) not on paper (charta) and that the letters in old mss. are large and distinct and not small and close (tenues...et arctae). Moreover, it is his observation that ancient mss. rarely display abbreviations or contractions, for they always express each letter and each diphthong of every word, while mss. of a more recent age are full of ligatures and marks of contraction. This estimate of the characteristics of ancient mss., as presented by Lipsius in the 16th century, compares very favorably with

1. Burmann Syll.Epp.II, 7. Quoted by Ludwig Traube, Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen I, "Geschichte der Paläographie, p.30.

that given by Rand and Lowe in their description of older¹ mss.

Further descriptive data on old mss. were given by Lipsius in his work on Punctuation, wherein he remarks that absence of punctuation is indicative of an old ms. Look, he says, at the Pandecta which belong to the age of Justinian, and you will find no mark of punctuation, for such "notae" do not belong to ancient times.²

Thus to conclude our remarks about Lipsius, we may say that while he made no great contribution to the science of palaeography, there is, nevertheless, evident in his works a very decided interest in the characteristics of ancient mss.

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1. A Sixth Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger; a study of six leaves of an uncial manuscript preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y. by E.A. Lowe and E.K. Rand, 1922; "Some Facts about our oldest Latin Mss.", Classical Quarterly, 1925, pp.197-208, also by Lowe.
 2. Justi Lipsi Opera Omnia, Vol.II, "Epistolarum Selectarum Centuria Tertia", XXXIX, p.133 sq. "Quod de lapidibus dico, ad libros etiam priscos traho: nec in iis Distinctionum illae variantes notae. Ut alios omittam, exstant nobiles illae Pandectae Etruscae, a Justiniani aevo: quaere, non dabunt. Quid ergo? ante Justiniani aevum non fuerunt? mox videbo: sed tamen antiquitus omnino, haud puto."

The next man to be considered in this study, although one of the most erudite and scholarly representatives of his age, yet has made only one distinct contribution to the science of palaeography. James Sirmond of the Society of Jesus was born in Auvergne in 1559. During his lifetime he attracted the friendship of some of the leading men of his day, among whom were Bellarmine and Barberini, who later became Pope Urban VIII. As long as he was in Italy, he applied himself with remarkable wisdom and skill to the examination, reproduction and explanation of ancient Greek and Latin mss., inscriptions, coins and whatever else would be useful toward acquiring a knowledge of sacred and profane antiquity. When, by the order of the Pope, a new collection of General Councils was being edited at Rome, amidst the great abundance of talent then available there, Sirmond was the one chosen before all others to whom the task of writing a preface was entrusted.¹ Scholars from all over Europe

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1. "Vita Jacobi Sirmondi" in Jacobi Sirmondi Soc. Jesu Presbyteri Opera Varia in quinque tomos Distributa, Venice, 1728, Vol. I. "...Quamdiu in Italia fuit, veteres mss. Codices tum Graecos tum Latinos, priscas inscriptiones, numismata, et quicquid ad sacrae aut profanae antiquitatis cognitionem adjumento esse posset, sedulo perscrutari, exscribere, ac mira sagacitate et solertia explicare studuit. Quomque, jussu summi Pontificis, nova Conciliorum generalium Collectio ederetur Romae; in magna eruditorum copia, quibus Italia tunc abundabat, unus prae omnibus electus est, qui conficienda hujus operis praefatio mandaretur. Quin ex Europa tota viri in omni literarum genere praestantes, ab eo, tamquam ex oraculo, responsa petere per literas."

wrote to him and sought responses as if from an oracle.¹

After spending eighteen years in Rome, he returned to Paris and edited the writings of the ancients which he had gathered in Italy and in various parts of Gaul. For the remaining forty three years of his life no year passed which did not witness some product of his active pen.² He was, his biographer says, "pervestigator indefessus, explorator sagax, aequus aestimator".³ His death occurred in 1651, the ninety second year of his life, his seventy-fifth in the

1. Among the letters is one from Holstenius to Sirmond in which the Vatican librarian entrusts his nephew, Peter Lambeck, to the care of Sirmond. Vol.IV, c.509: "Petrum Lambecium sororis meae filium ea te benignitate complexurum spero, quam insignis tua humanitas et constans erga me amor pollicetur."

There is also another letter from Lambeck to Sirmond written in 1543 in which Lambeck expresses his regret that Sirmond isn't near him to help him with a difficult Greek text on which he was working. Vol.IV, c.510: "Utinam nunc per aliquot saltem dies tecum essem: certe gravissimam hujus operis partem auxilio tui sublevares: Ex infinitis vero aliis locis in quibus iudicii tui subventu indiges, hunc unum Codici imprimis dispice..."

Also included is a letter from Josephus Suaresius to N. Rigaltius, which the editor of the Opera included among the correspondence of Sirmond because in it Suaresius speaks about a fragment of Tertullian concerning which Sirmond had previously written to Suaresius. This letter contains one interesting palaeographical item, for Suaresius says that the fragment should be assigned to the seven hundredth year, "as anyone skilled in ancient writing will judge": Vol.IV, c.473: "...ea vero tanta est, ut ad septingentesimum accedat annum, quod iudicabit quisquis priscae scripturae peritus, formam literarum diligentius intuebitur."

2. Cf. De Backer-Sommervogel, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Tome Septième, c.1237-1260, Bruxelles, 1896.
3. "Vita Sirmondi".

Society. Various works of his were edited in 1728 at Venice and divided into five large volumes. Having examined this collection, I have found that Sirmond in describing the mss. used by him only once referred to a particular type of script. Following the trend of the majority of his sixteenth century predecessors, he speaks merely of "codices antiquos" or "vetustissimi et probatissimi exemplaris in codice scripti" or "vetustissimo...codice" or "veteri codice". In fact, when speaking of the mss of the Capitula of Charlemagne, he adds the statement that he has prepared his edition from five ancient mss., "si tua hoc scire interest."

However, Sirmond has made one very excellent reference to script. This is found in his description of a codex which contained a fragment of the Papal Catalogus together with Jerome's De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis and Gennadius' De Viris Illustribus. This ms., he says, was written one

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1. Opera Varia, Vol.I, "Lectori", before p.1 of the works of Eusebius Caesariensis.
 2. Ibid., Vol.I, c.196.
 3. Ibid., Vol.II, c.270.
 4. Ibid., Vol.II, c.893.
 5. Ibid., Vol.III, c.11.
 6. Ibid., Vol.IV, c.548: "Continet etiam Codex idem Catalogi Pontificalis fragmentum in Symmacho desinens, una cum opere Hieronymi "De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis", ac Gennadii "De Viris Illustribus"...Commendatur porro Codex praedictus millenaria antiquitate, quam membranarum quadrata figura, ac verborum omnium arcta connexio exhibent. Romanae etiam literae apparent, ut in adjecto specimine videre est, cui simile aliud ex Hieronymo de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, ad vitam Philonis ideo deprompsimus, ut cuique compertum sit, ea verba: de haerede divinarum rerum liber unus."

thousand years ago, as is evident from the square shape of the parchment and the "verborum omnium arcta connexio".

Moreover, the ms.¹ was written in "Romanae literae", as might be seen, he says, in the following specimen which he extracted from Jerome's life of Philo:

deberedeunavarumrerumliberunurde

As is quite evident from the above specimen, Sirmond's "Romanae literae" are Half-Uncials. Thus, while Sirmond has made only one reference to script and has taken the trouble to reproduce only one specimen from all the mss. which he had used in his works, yet that one remark about the mss. of the Capitula, "si tua hoc scire interest", would lead me to believe that such omissions on his part must be attributed not to his lack of acquaintance with the various kinds of script but rather to the general apathy of the editors of his age to problems of this sort.

John Morin (1591-1659) who was born in Blois of a Protestant family, but who upon his conversion became a member of the Oratorians, has likewise made but one contribution,

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1. The oldest ms. of the Liber Pontificalis mentioned by Duchesne, Le Liber Pontificalis, Texte, Introduction et Commentaire par L'Abbe Duchesne, Tome Second, Paris 1892, is the Ms. Farnesianus, now lost, a 9th century ms. presumably written wholly in uncial. Duchesne does not mention this fragment used by Sirmond.
 2. Le Grande Encyl. Vol. XXIV, p. 346.

to the pre-Mabillonian study of mss., which, although a rewording of what had been said in the past by his predecessors, yet is indicative of palaeographical interest. For he made the following statement in his work Exercitationes Biblicae de hebraici graecique textus sinceritate:

Antiquos tam Graecos, quam Latinos, continua litterarum serie scripsisse, nullis super aut inter verba distinctionibus, aut accentibus adscriptis. Ejusmodi adhuc visuntur multi codices, cum Graeci, tum Latini...Epistolae S.Pauli Graece et Latine, majoribus litteris descriptae eodem modo, conservantur in fratrum Puteanorum Bibliotheca, alique Codices alibi exstant, antiquum scribendi morem retinentes. Magna pars librorum, qui ante centum, supra mille annos, scripti supersunt, est ejusmodi.

Though Sirmond and Morin can be credited with only one contribution to the science of palaeography, the same can not be said of our next important figure in the parade of palaeographers, Peter Lambeck.² One of the most scholarly men of his time, Lambeck was born in Hamburg in 1629.

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1. Exercitationes Biblicae de hebraici graecique textus sinceritate, XVII, No.V, quoted by Le Clerc, op.cit., p.141. Morin's work had been published in 1633, in 4.
 2. Cf. Pierre Bayle, Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, Vol.9, pp.27-29; Niceron, Memoires Pour Servir a l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres, Vol.30, pp.80-95.

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The nephew of Holstenius, the Vatican librarian, he was educated first in his own country, and then in foreign lands, Holland and France, all at the expense of his famous uncle. At the age of nineteen he wrote a work on Gellius, Lucubrationum Gellianarum Prodrömus, which merited the applause of scholars. He then visited Toulouse where he apparently received his Licentiate in Law and from there travelled to

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1. Lucas Holstenius (cf. Nicéron, öp.cit., Vol. 31, pp. 236-247, Paris, 1735), the uncle of Lambeck, was born in Hamburg in 1596, whence he travelled first to France, and then to Rome where he attached himself to Cardinal Barberini. He was subsequently named chief of the Vatican Library by Innocent X. In 1655 he was dispatched by Alexander VII to receive the profession of faith of Queen Christina at Innsbruck. The remaining years of his life were filled with study and work. His epitaph, written by Barberini, was as follows:

Lucae Holstenio, Saxoni, Hamburgensi, qui clarus in Galliis, Romae clarior, Gentium omnium aetat-
umque historias et Ecclesiae res mente complectens, diversis regionibus peragratiss, diversos earum fines et nomina probe tenuit, varias quoque linguas, praeter Graecam Latinamque, quarum scriptoribus plurimum lucis attulit: antiquam Philosophiam calluit: Ab Urbano VIII Canonicatu Basilicae Vaticanae, ab Innocentio X Praefectura Bibliothecae ornatus, ab Alexandro VII sapienter unus electus, ut occurreret Suecorum Gothorumque Reginae incomparabili quam miram in tanto viro summi ingenii, summaeque modestiae conjunctionem suspexit et praedicavit: vitae denique laudatissimae et illustrium operum cursu interrupto, eximius patriae Germaniae amator, propugnator religionis Catholicae, Obiit IV Nonas Februarias anno 1661 aetatis 65.

An exact critic, he has not written any large works, but he has made some notes and has composed some judicious treatises the greatest part of which has been inserted by his friends in their works. Born a Lutheran, he too, like Lambeck, was converted by Sirmond.

Rome where he stayed two years in the home of Cardinal Barberini. Upon his return to Hamburg in 1652, he was made professor of History, and eight years later rector of the college of that city. During both terms he was accused of heterodoxy and even of atheism by his students and enemies, who were unaware that he, a former Lutheran, had in 1647 under the instruction of Sirmond secretly embraced the Catholic Faith.¹ In 1662 he contracted an unfortunate marriage with a rich old lady of Hamburg, with whom, however, he lived for only two weeks, having left her upon the advice of Queen Christina of Sweden, who was then in Hamburg.² He took refuge in Vienna where he was immediately appointed assistant librarian of the Imperial Library and then in 1663 librarian in chief, a position which he held until his death.

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1. Bayle, op.cit., quotes "Epist. ad Ren.Franc.Slusium, lib. I Operis de Biblioth. Vindob. insertam: "Coetui ecclesiae Romanae publice se aggregavit. Sacris enim ejus diu ante jam erat initiatus, cum in Batavia a Barth.Nihusio, Apostata celebri, ac studiorum ipsius academicorum Ephoro, tum in Gallia a Jac.Sirmondo, jesuitarum doctissimo; sed externa lutheranismi professione cives incautos hactenus fefellerat."
 2. Ibid., in which Bayle quotes Moller, Isagoge ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricae part III, page 538: "Ad haec adversa postquam toedium conjugii, inauspicato a.1662 cum vetula divite, sed parca, atque avara (A.1690 Hamburgi defuncta) contracti accessit, haud difficulter a Christina, Suecorum regina, Hamburgum delata, persuaderi sibi est passus, ut, duabus post nuptias hebdomadibus vix elapsis, patriam et uxorem d. 14 Aprilis A.1662 desereret ac Vindobonam commigraret."

He acquired an excellent reputation for his published works, among them a History of Hamburg,¹ which Conring praised lavishly in a letter of 1661, citing Lambeck's incomparable industry and dexterity, and further stating that Hamburg, by Lambeck's work, was at last able to escape "sinistras suspiciones imposterum". The text of that letter, in so far as it applies to Lambeck's quest for accuracy and truth, is as follows:²

...Forte vero etiam jam tum ab illis accepisti, quam ego frequenter Tui mentionem faciam cum praefatione laudis; quantopere etiam seorsim Hamburgensia Tua commendaverim. Enimvero videram jampridem Origines tuas sive librum primum Hamburgensium; vix autem persuaseram mihi, paria Te et in sequentibus praestare posse. Experior autem eam abs Te hic etiam industriam dexteritatemque adhibitam, qualem antehac nemo quisquam adhibuit: atque adeo patriam Urbem inclytam tua demum opera sinistras suspiciones imposterum effugere posse. Tibique proinde non posse ex merito referre gratias...

The best of all his works was that on the Vienna Library, in which Lambeck described the mss. of that library in a critical and historical manner, bringing to bear all the scholarship and industry he had. The full title of the work was Commentariorum de Augusta Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi Libri Octo, (Vienna 1665-1679). He had

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1. Origines Hamburgenses, sive liber rerum Hamburgensium primus ab U.C. et A.C. ad A.1225. Hamburg 1652 and Liber Secundus rerum Hamburgensium ab A.C. 1225 ad 1292, etc. Hamburg, 1661.
 2. "Nobilissimi Excellentissimique Viri Dn.Hermanni Conringii Phil. et Med. Doctoris...ad Petrum Lambecium Hamburgensem, de Historia ipsius Hamburgensi Epistola" in Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Rerum Hamburgensium Liber Secundus in Erpoldi Lindenbrogii Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum Septentrionales, Hamburgi, 1706.

intended twenty five books in this series, but death in 1680¹ called a halt to his plans. By 1712 the original work was so rare² that Jacob Frederick Reimmann, in order that at least some of it might be given a more extended reading public, made an epitome of it and published it under the title:

Bibliotheca Acroamatica, Theologica, Juridica, Medica, Philosophica, Historica et Philologica, comprehendens Recensionem Specialem Omnium Codicum Msctorum...Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis...congesta nunc autem propter insignem raritatem, caritatem, et praestantiam in hanc concinnam epitomen...a Jacobo Friderico Reimmanno, Hanoverae, 1712.

It is on this, of course, and not on the original edition that I have had to depend for my extracts from Lambeck.

Volume I, a general history of the Vienna Library, was divided into two parts, the first of which described both the contributions made by each emperor since its foundation

1. Cf. Journal Des Scavans, 1666, pp.563-565, and M.Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, Tom.II, p.148, #218: "Quoique le catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliotheque de l'empereur, à Vienne, soit divisé en huit volumes in folio; il n'est pourtant pas incore achevé, et c'est la mort de l'auteur qui nous a enlié un ouvrage si curieux et si important. M.Lambecius avait entrepris dans ce grand ouvrage l'explication des manuscrits de cette bibliotheque; et c'est ce qu'il a fait d'une manière critique et historique, ayant eu dessein d'y faire entrer tout ce qu'il avait d'erudition et d'industrie; en quoi il s'est fort distingué de tous les faiseurs de catalogues dont nous venons de parler."
2. Proof of the rarity of this work may be seen from the following quote from the Bibliotheca Acroamatica etc., p.36: "Henricum Christianum Hennium in Observationibus ad Jacobi Tolii Epist.4, p.134 Bibliothecam hancce Lambecii vocare 'pretiosam' et fateri insimul, eam sibi ad manus non fuisse. Don Gregorium Marhoffium in suo Polyhistore integras paginas ex ea notasse et ejus rei hanc attulisse rationem: 'Librum istum in paucorum esse manibus' L.I, c.1, #8, p.12."

by Maximilian, and the work of those who preceded Lambeck as chief librarian there. The second part contained among other things a catalogue of the Hebrew, Arabic and Turkish mss. found in the library.

²
Volume II discourses first on the name of the city of Vienna and then enters into a general description of the Latin Mss. Since the remaining six books deal entirely with Greek mss., we may omit these and begin immediately with Book II. In this Lambeck was able to state with amazing accuracy the age of certain mss. as was evident to him "ex forma literarum aliisque variis circumstantiis".² Thus in describing the books from the Bibliotheca Ambrasiana,³ Lambeck states that there was a ms.

Canticum Canticorum Salomonis latine membranaceum in f. cum Willeramii Abbatis Mersburgensis gemina paraphrasi, latina videlicet metro rythmica et Germanica veteri prosaica. Et apparet ex forma literarum aliisque variis circumstantiis scriptum esse hunc codicem ipso Willeramii aevo imo propria forsitan ipsius manu.

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1. Bibliotheca Acroamatica, p.105: "Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Liber Secundus De Aug.B.C.V." Qui agit de
 - I. Nomine urbis Wiennae
 - II. Libris Miscellis et quidem
 - (a) Speciatim de
 - a. Concilio Provinciali Vindobonensi Ms. c.3.
 - b. Rationario Austriae et Slyriae Ms. c.4.
 - (b) Generatim de Libris
 - a. Bibliothecae Ambrasianae c.8.
 - b. Bibliothecae Budensis c.8.
 2. Ibid., passim.
 3. Ibid., p.176.

Endlicher in his catalogue of the mss. of the Palatine Library (one of the names now assigned to the imperial library) lists this same ms. (#LXXVII, 5) and places it in the 13th¹ century.

There was also a very old ms. in quarto,² written about eight hundred years ago "litteris Gothicis sive Toletanis", the script which was formerly used in Spain. Moreover, he adds, this ms. was the work of a man who was uneducated and untrained in the Latin language, and is thus in several places scarcely legible and intelligible. It contained the unedited Chronicle of a certain anonymous author which extended from the creation of the world to the time of Justinian. Lambeck here repeats the same error made by other palaeographers in referring to the script used in Spain as a Gothic script. However, though you might be inclined to say that this was a Visigothic ms., I have not been able to locate it in any list of Visigothic mss.

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1. Catalogus Codicum Philologicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis. Digessit Stephanus Endlicher, Vindobonae, 1836.
 2. Bibliotheca Acroamatica, p.180: "Volumen membranaceum pervetustum in quarto majori, litteris Gothicis sive Toletanis, in Hispania olim praecipue usitatis ante 800 circiter annos exaratum ab homine barbaro et Lat. linguae imperitissimo, ideoque plurimis locis vix legibile et intelligibile, quo continetur Anonymi cujusdam Autoris, quem ego Fredegarium, Chronicon, hactenus, quod sciam, ineditum a creatione mundi usque ad tempora Imp. Justiniani 2 sive Magni et mortem Belisarii pertingens."

Lambeck then mentions another ms. containing the Chronicon of the Popes and the Roman Emperors, as compiled by a Dominican monk who was made archbishop in 1278. This ms., though, was written three hundred years ago "ut ex scriptura manifeste apparet"¹. This is possibly one of the many Gothic mss. which were so abundantly reproduced in the 14th century.

Lambeck's next entry is remarkable for its amazing accuracy, particularly when you realize the great antiquity of the ms. concerned. It is, he says, a ms. written eleven hundred years ago (6th century) wholly in majuscules and in the ancient manner without any separation between words. Its reading thus is very difficult even for men who are very experienced in the handling of ancient mss. In it, he continues, are contained five books of Livy's History of Rome.² This ms., described so well by Lambeck, is most certainly the famous Vienna Livy, a 6th century ms. in uncials, listed as such by Traube and Chatelain,³ a facsimile of which⁴

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1. Ibid., pp. 180-1: "Volumen membranaceum in quarto Majori, ante 300 circiter annos, ut ex scriptura manifeste apparet, exaratum, quo continetur Martini Poloni Monachi Dominicani, qui a. 1278 a Papa Nicolao 3 Archiepiscopus Gnesnensis creatus est... Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum Romanorum."
 2. Ibid., p. 181: "Volumen membranaceum in quarto majori ante mille et aliquot centum annos totum majusculis literis et quidem antiquissimo more sine ulla singularum vocum distinctione exaratum, eamque ob rem etiam doctissimis et in Veterum Codicum Msctorum tractatione exercitissimis Viris lectu difficillimum, quo continentur Historiae Romanae Titi Livii libri quinque, qui propter aliorum olim sequentium defectum nunc sunt ultimi, nempe 41, 42, 43, 44, 45."
 3. Traube, op.cit., I, #359.
 4. Chatelain, Paleog. de Class.Lat., p. 120.

appears in M.Silvestre's handsome volume, Paléographie Universelle, under #15 (olim 626) of the Bibliothèque Imple et
¹
 Rle de Vienne.

Some evidence of Lambeck's familiarity with the difficulties involved in manuscript reading may be seen in his description of a ms. which was written about one hundred years ago (16th century) from a good codex, but by a man who was, Lambeck says, untrained and inexperienced in reading the abbreviations of old mss. and thus made many errors in his reproduction of the original.

Alter...ille Codex chartaceus, ante annos circiter centum, ex bono quidem Codice descriptus est, sed ab homine aeque negligente ac imperito, et in legendis veterum Codicum Msctorum abbreviaturis inexercitato, ideoque² scatet is innumeris fere mendis et erroribus.

Next, after paying tribute to Charlemagne's encouragement of the Liberal Arts, Lambeck catalogues certain of the mss. which dated back to the time of that great emperor. First was a codex of respectable antiquity which contained

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1. Paleographie Universelle - Collection de Fac Similes d'Ecritures de tous les peuples et tous les temps tirés des plus authentiques Documents...Chartes et Manuscrits existant dans les Archives et les Bibliothèques de France, d'Angleterre, d'Allemagne et d'Italie Publiés par M.Silvestre &...accompagnés d'Explications Historiques et Descriptives par M.M.Champollion-Figeac et Aimé Champollion fils. Gravés par Girault, Deuxième Partie, Grecs et Latins, Paris, 1840.
 2. Bibliotheca Acroamatica, p.121.

a Latin Psalter written entirely¹ in letters of gold by the order and care of Charlemagne. A facsimile of this very beautiful ms. is reproduced by Silvestre and Champollion,² who explain that the Psalter, consisting of the Psalms of David, was written on white vellum with some purple sheets, and all in letters of gold. In the left margin of their facsimile may be seen the verses:

Hadriano summo papae patrique beato:
Rex Carolus salve mando, valeque, pater.

which indicate that this magnificent Psalter was executed by the order of Charlemagne and presented to Pope Hadrian I. Lambeck, Champollion says, conjectured that the Pope then gave this precious volume to one of his ecclesiastical dignitaries. Whatever may be the case, however, it is certain, he continues, that it was soon given to St. Willehad, first Bishop of Bremen, where it was preserved for eight centuries, later coming into the possession of the Imperial Museum of Vienna. The writer of the ms. called himself Dagulfus, and, to quote Champollion, "son ouvrage est un beau modèle de toutes les écritures romaines, renouvelées, ou carolines, en usage dès la fin du VIII^e siècle".

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1. Ibid., p.122: "...Primus Codex membranaceus venerandae vetustatis, eiusque formae, quae vulgo vocatur in octavo majori, continet Psalterium Latinum, jussu et cura ipsius Caroli M...totum aureis literis exaratum."
 2. Paleographie Universelle, Vol.II.

It is important for us to remember this because Lambeck later points out the similarity between the script in this ms. and that in others, and adds further that it was the script so common to the age of Charlemagne and his immediate successors. Thus we can be sure that Lambeck recognized and correctly identified Caroline Minuscule, although, of course, he did not assign such a name to it.

Lambeck then describes a ms. containing the poem of Ermoldus Nigellus on the deeds of Louis the Pious, which Nigellus wrote in the Emperor's honor in order that he might obtain remission of his punishment. The script of this ms., Lambeck says, is very ancient and is so similar to that in other mss. written during the time of Charlemagne and Louis, that Lambeck would dare to say that that ms. was either the original which was offered to Louis or at least was copied from the original during the same age. The script of which Lambeck was here talking was, of course, the Caroline Minuscule.

Decimus tertius Codex est membranaceus in 8 et inter Mscos Historicos Lat.249, continetque Ermoldi Nigelli Exulis Poema elegiacum de rebus gestis Imp.Ludovici Pii in quatuor divisum libros, quos ille ut exilii sui impetraret remissionem, in jam memorati Imperatoris honorem composuit. Scriptura codicis perantiqua est, et caeteris temporum Imp.Caroli M. ac Ludovici Pii Mscis. Codicibus similima, ideoque affirmare ausim hunc vel illum ipsum esse authenticum codicem, qui Imp.Ludovico Pio oblat¹us est, vel saltem eodem aevo ex illo esse descriptum.

1. Bibliotheca Acroamatica, p.133.

Another ms. in the library contained the Annales Francorum from 714 to 817 and was written in those ancient Gothic or Toletan letters, founded, Lambeck wrongly believes, by Ulfilas, the Bishop of the Goths, and formerly used in Spain.

Decimus quintus codex est membranaceus in fol. et inter Msctos.Hist.Lat. 265 continetque incerti cuiusdam Auctoris Annales Francorum ab A.C. 714 usque ad annum 817. Scriptus est autem antiquis illis litteris Gothicis s. Toletanis ab Ulphila Gothorum Episcopo, qui circa A.C. 370 floruit, inventis, et in Hispania olim praecipue usitatis.¹

I was unable to locate this ms. in any of the catalogues consulted by me, and thus I am unable to state whether this was a Visigothic ms.

The next ms. consisted also of the Annales Francorum, compiled by a certain anonymous author who lived at the time of Charlemagne. The ms. was written, moreover, says Lambeck, during Charlemagne's rule, as is evident not only from the script which is identical to others written during that same age but also from a certain fragment of that Theotiscan or Germanic language, joined to the ms., which language was used by Charlemagne.

Decimus Sextus Codex est membranaceus in 4to et inter Msctos Historicos Latinos 266 continetque incerti cuiusdam Auctoris antiqui, qui tempore Imper.Caroli M. vixit Annales Francorum ineditos ab A.C. 704 usque ad A.803. Scriptus est autem tempore ipsius Caroli M. uti manifeste apparet cum ex caractere, qui aliis eiusdem aevi Codicibus Msctis ad unguem congruit, tum ex notabili quodam antiquae istius Theotiscae s. Germanicae linguae, qua ipse Carolus M. tanquam patria usus est, fragmento, quod iam memoratis Annalibus immediate subjungitur, et comprehendit narrationem

1. Ibid., p.135.

disputationem Christi cum muliere Samaritana,
ad fontem Patriarchae Jacobi prope Samariam.¹

The twenty second ms. contains a copy of the Old and New Testament written at the expense of Rado, the celebrated Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of S.Vedastus at Arras, and in such a way that each page was divided into three columns. The shape of the letters was the same as that used in the previously mentioned Psalter of Charlemagne, which, he² now adds, was finished in 772 by Dagulfus.

There was also in the Vienna library an old copy of the life of St.Vedastus, emended by Alcuin at the request of Rado and written during the age of Alcuin and Rado, as is clear from the script and other circumstances.

Et nos praeterea habemus in Aug.Bibliotheca Caesarea Vitae Vedasti Radonis rogatu ab Alcuino emendatae pervetustum exemplar in codice membranaceo ipso Alcuini et Radonis aevo, uti ex scriptura aliisque circumstantiis liquet, exaratum, quod est inter Codices Latinos Hist. 29.³

Among the historical mss. of the library of Vienna was a unique and very ancient ms. from which have been taken

1. Ibid., p.135.

2. Ibid., p.138: "Vigesimus secundus codex est membranaceus in fol. et inter MSctos Theologicos Latinos quintus. Continet is Biblia Sacra Vet. et Nov. Test. latina studio et sumptibus Radonis, celeberrimi Monasterii Benedictini S.Vedasti apud Atrebatas XI Abbatis, primo regiminis eius anno h.e. A.A. 795 ita exarata, ut singulae cujusque paginae in tres columnas divisae sint. Figura litterarum eadem omnino est atque illarum aurearum quibus supra memoratum Caroli M.Psalterium A.C. 772 a Dagulfo exaratum est."

3. Ibid., p.139.

the letters which the Roman Pontiffs sent to the Princes and Kings of the Franks. This ms., he asserts, incontrovertibly was written during the very age of Charlemagne "ut ex scriptura et aliis circumstantiis evidentissime apparet."¹

Hrabanus Maurus composed a Glossarium Latino-Theotiscum for the Old and New Testament, which had never been edited. Lambeck was overjoyed when he found a very old ms. of this work, written, he says, during the age of Hrabanus.² As in previous instances, Lambeck here too correctly assigns an age to a ms., for Endlicher's catalogue places this ms. in the 9th century.³

This concludes our analysis of Lambeck's contribution to the science of palaeography, from which it is clear that this 17th century pre-Mabillonian scholar was capable of identifying, and correctly so, both the Roman script and the Caroline Minuscule, and possibly the Visigothic. Moreover, when assigning dates to mss., he was remarkably accurate and was keen enough to see, for example, that the Vienna Livy had been written in the 6th century. Yet he neglects to tell us why he thought it was written in the 6th century.

1. Ibid., p.20.

2. Ibid., p.140: "...Rabanus Maurus...composuit etiam integrum Glossarium Latino-Theotiscum in tota Biblia Sacra Vet. et Nov.Test. hactenus numquam editum, cujus vetustissimum et ipsa Rabani aetate exaratum Codicem membranaceum reperi incredibili cum gaudio abhinc biennio..."

3. Endlicher, op.cit., #CCCXXVIII, 3: "Rabanus Maurus -- Glossarium latino-theotiscum. Memb. s.ix."

His frequent use of the expression "ut ex scriptura et aliis circumstantiis apparet" would lead you to believe that it was not mere chance that caused him to arrive at the correct date. Knowledge of the "aliis circumstantiis" might clear up this difficulty. However, despite his lack of clarity in this respect, the statement about the Vienna Livy together with the others previously quoted reveals Lambeck's deep palaeographical sense and causes us to place him in the first ranks of early students of Latin scripts.

CHAPTER VII

ANCIENT CATALOGUES OF MSS. IN WHICH PALAEOGRAPHICAL
ENTRIES WERE MADE.

In the last three chapters we have presented and evaluated the contributions made to the science of palaeography by famous scholars of the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. It remains for us now to examine ancient catalogues of mss., compiled by men whose identities, for the most part, shall be unknown, but whose remarks nonetheless evince an early interest in the script of the mss. which came under their careful scrutiny.

Beginning with the public libraries of France, we find that in the 10th century the Abbey of Saint-Pere in Chartres¹ possessed a library, for which a catalogue was made in the 11th century. In this may be found the following entries:

- #25: *Expositio super Epistolas Pauli, romana scriptura.*
- #26: *Expositio super Job, romana scriptura.*
- #29: *Augustinus super Johannem, romana scriptura.*
- #56: *De partibus orationis tractatus, scottisca littera.*

The chapter-house of the Cathedral of Chartres² possessed from an early date a very rich library, for the

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1. Catalogue General Des Manuscrits Des Bibliothèques Publiques de France - Départements - Tome XI. Chartres par MM. Omont, Molinier, Coudere et Coyecque, Paris, 1890, p.xxi et sqq.
 2. Ibid., p.1 et sqq.

registers of the meetings held there, which have been preserved for us almost without interruption since the end of the 13th century, contain numerous references to mss. and indicate the care with which the chapter-house strove to preserve and augment its library. While these references do not specify a particular kind of script, they do describe the type letter used. Thus an entry of August 8, 1309 is as follows:¹

Venerabilis vir dominus Landulphus de Columpna, canonicus Carnotensis, asportavit a capitulo quemdam librum antique littere, qui sic inceptit etc.

Another of 1328 is:²

Nicolaus de Braya, canonicus Carnotensis, cepit... unum bonum Missale, coopertum de corio rubeo, in grossa littera bene formata.

And another of February 3, 1336 is:³

Symon...cepit...librum...glosatum, in magno volumine et in littera grossa et optima.

An inventory of the Library of Amiens, written in 1420,⁴ like the preceding, indicates a deep interest in script on the part of its compiler. Thus we find numerous references like the following:

#11: Unum missale, valde antiquum et de littera antiquissima.⁵

1. Ibid., p.iv.

2. Ibid., p.vi.

3. Ibid., p.vii.

4. Catalogue General Des Manuscrits Des Bibl.Publ. de France, Amiens, Vol.XIX par E.Coyecque, Paris, 1893.

5. Ibid., p.lxxxvii.

#19: ...alter textus evangeliorum, antique et male littere.¹

In 1436 an inventory was made of the books then existing in the new library of the church of Bayeux.² Included among these was:

#30: volumen Biblie, veteris scripture.³

An inventory of the mss. of Citeaux, made in 1480, refers very often to script but never mentions any one of the common designations. Thus may be found several references similar to each of the following:

- P.340, #4: tabulam in grossa littera.
 #9: volumen...bene scriptum et in bona et grossa littera.
 P.341, #19: volumen...scriptum in parva littera.
 #21: volumen...simili littera scriptum.
 P.342, #29: volumen, male et in littera communi scriptum.
 P.343, #31: volumen mediocre, continens Psalterium...
 et scribitur in antiqua littera.
 P.345, #56: ...in littera antiqua competenter scriptum.
 P.358, #172: ...diversis litteris scripta.
 #203: ...pulchra littera parva.
 #458: satis antiqua littera scripti.
 #567: diversis malis litteris.

In Lyons in 1511 there was a "Bible d'une ecriture carlovingienne".⁴ This is an interesting reference,⁵ for it

1. Ibid., p.lxxxvii.
2. Catalogue General...de France, Tome X, p.275.
3. Ibid., Tome V par Molinier, Omont, Bougenot et Guinard, Paris, 1889.
4. Ibid., Tome XXX, par MM.Molinier et Desvernay, Paris 1900, p.vii.
5. Traube, Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen, Erster Band, Munchen 1909, p.26 sq., has wrongly stated that the expression "Scriptura Carolina" was new with Mabillon: "Neu ist bei Mabillon, wie ich schon sagte, der Begriff der 'Scriptura Merovingica'; ebenso new der Begriff der 'Scriptura Carolina': darunter versteht er die unter Karl dem Grossen ausgebildete, aus der Francogallica mit Hilfe der romischen umgeformte Schrift..."

demonstrates the use of the term "carlovingienne", as applied to script, even before Mabillon.

A catalogue of the Benedictine monastery of Fleury¹ includes:

#128: De potestate et primatu sedis apostolicae patriarcharum caeterorumque primatu, cujus libri initium majusculis literis scriptum est.

P.Pithou's inventory of the mss. of the Cathedral of Chartres, written in 1579, included:²

#96: Vergilli I et liber Aeneidos, litteris majusculis.

A catalogue of the mss. of the library of Corbie,³ made in 1621, contains six references to "littera gotthica". Thus we see the following:

p.xxxiv: #101: Ejusdem Ambrosii Exameron littera gotthica, Lat. 12135.
 p.xxxvi: #147: Cassiodori historia tripartita, scripta litteris gotthicis.
 p.xxxvii: #173: Fortunati de diversis rebus... litteris gotthicis.
 p. #175: Libri tres de sanctis locis... litteris gotthicis.
 p.xxxix: #210: Dictionarium vetus, litteris gotthicis.
 p.xlviii: #463: Vitae S.Remigii, Medardi, etc, in veteri codice, litteris gotthicis, carente operimento. Lat. 12598.

An old catalogue of the mss. of the Carmelites of

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1. Catalogue General...de France, Tome XII, Orleans, par M.Ch. Cuissard, Paris, 1889, p.vii sqq.
 2. Ibid., Tome XI, p.xvi.
 3. Ibid., Tome XIX, p.lxxxv sqq.

Cleremont had been published by Père Labbé¹ in his Nova Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum, Paris, 1652, and is reprinted in Vol. XIV of the Catalogue General Des Manuscrits Des Bibliothèques Publiques de France. Latin Ms. 2395 was a 10th century ms. of the Claudii, Taurinensis episcopi, expositio in Epistolas Pauli ad Hebraeos. Labbé informs us that this ms. and the preceding one had come from Saint Germain d'Auxerre and that one may read in both mss. inscriptions which had been written "en caracteres carolingiens"². A similar remark may be seen in his reference to Latin Ms. 5609, a 9th century ms. of the Vita S. Huberti, episcopi Leodiensis, for in fol. 2 of this ms. he tells us³ we may find "en caracteres carolingiens" an inscription which reads: "Hincmarus archiepiscopus dedit S. Remigio".⁴ Thus, here again we have a pre-Mabillon reference to a Caroline script.

One of the greatest bibliophiles of the 17th century

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1. P. Philippe Labbé, (cf. Baillet, Jugemens de Savans, p. 57, #95) with his great knowledge of ancient and modern libraries acquired the reputation of a clever critic. Among his works are a Dissertation Philologique et Historique, which concerned the Ecclesiastical writers with which Bellarmine had worked, and a Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum (1651), a catalogue of books on all topics.
 2. Catalogue General...de France, Tome XIV, Paris 1890, p. xv, #11.
 3. Ibid., p. xix, #48.
 4. Cf. p. 363, n. 5.

century was James Thou.¹ He spared no expense in obtaining books and mss., and for this purpose scoured Italy, Germany and Holland. His trip to Italy included visits to the Vatican and Laurentian libraries where he marvelled at the collections and was moved to increase to even greater limits the extent of his own library. Nor was he alone in the preparation of this library, for he enjoyed the aid and advice of some of the leading scholars of his day among whom were Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, Claudius Salmasius, Hugo Grotius, James Sirmond and Peter and James Dupuy.²

These latter two made a catalogue of the collection, part II of which contains a section entitled "Manuscripti Codices Veteres". In this appear the following entries:

- p.419: Greg.Naz.Apologeticus Lat.Gregorii M. in Evangelia. Homiliae Origenis Lat. Majusc. literis. fol.
- p.422: D.Ambrosii varia opuscula, majusc. literis,
- p.423: ...Eusebii sermo de Paschatae. S.Hieronymi de Evangelio ad Matthaeum. Excommunicationum Papae Gelasii Fausto magistro fungenti Legationis officii Constantinopoli. fol. Charact.Saxon. Hugonis de Miro mari. etc.

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1. Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae A Clarrissimis Viris Petro et Jacobo Puteanis ordine alphabetico primum distributus...Denique editus a Josepho Quesnell...MDCLXXIX, Paris. Cf. Part I for the preface and Biographical material on Thou.
 2. James Dupuy (cf. La Rousse du XX^e Siècle, Tome Deuxième, Paris, p.1006) (1586-1656), a French scholar, became in 1645 guard of the library of the king to which he bequeathed his library containing nine thousand volumes and some ancient mss.

- p.425: IV Evangelia Lat. fol. majusc.literis.
 p.433: Hilarii libri de Trinitate, Majusc.literis.

However, as with other men of this age, the word "vetus" is used indiscriminately and even to describe mss. written as recently as the 14th and 15th centuries, e.g.:

- p.464: Epistolae Leonis et aliorum Pontificum.
 Eucherio formulae spiritalis. Epistolae
 commendatitiae. Scriptum Magistrorum Uni-
 versitatis Parisiens. de novissimis tempor-
 ibus. an. 1300.

This ms., it must be remembered, appears in the list of "Manuscripti Codices Veteres".

Strange as it may seem, Mabillon's knowledge of Visigothic script came only from fac-similes printed in different Spanish works, for it is not until 1874 that patrons of the Bibliothèque Nationale were able to examine in any great quantity original Spanish mss. For then it was that a number of Spanish mss. arrived in France to fill up that deficiency in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In one of these mss. was a catalogue of the more than one hundred books which were in the possession of the monastery of Silos at the beginning of the 13th century. The compiler of this catalogue has taken care to mention that several books of his abbey were written in "letra francisca". In 1880 Leopold Delisle, thrilled by this recent acquisition,

published this catalogue and made the following remark about
the expression "de letra francisca":²

C'est (the use of the term "de letra francisca")
un allusion à la revolution qui s'introduisit au
XII^e siecle, et peut-etre des l'^eXI^e, dans les hab-
itudes des copistes espagnols, probablement sous
l'influence des colonies francaises que notre
grande abbaye de Cluni envoya dans plusieurs dio-
cèses d'Espagne.

For, as we have seen in our previous remarks about Aldrete,
when the Spanish were ordered to abandon the Visigothic
script, they were told to substitute in its place the
script then used commonly throughout France. Thus the
"letra francisca" of the catalogue of Silos.

Of the many Latin mss. catalogued in the Vatican Li-
brary,³ only one bears an inscription indicative of script.
However,⁴ remarks like the following are common:

Explicit epistola sancti ieronimi de captivo
monacho scripta per me fratrem bartolomeum de
mediolano ordinis fratrum servorum sancte Marie
tempor(e) quo studebam in conventu florentie.
(1448)

And you occasionally find reference to a "codex antiquissi-
mus" or an "exemplar vetustissimum". Thus a 15th century

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1. Melanges De Paleographie et de Bibliographie par Leopold Delisle, Paris 1880. "Manuscripts de l'Abbaye de Silos Acquis par la Bibliothèque Nationale", pp.53-116.
 2. Ibid., pp.59-60.
 3. Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices Manuscripti Recensiti Jussu Leonis XIII Pont. Maximi...Codices Vaticani Latini, Various Editors and dates of publication.
 4. Ibid., Tome II, Pars Prior, Codices 679-1134, Recensuit Augustus Pelzer, In Bibliotheca Vat., 1931, p.176.

ms. of the ¹Orations of Cicero indicates a lacuna by leaving a space vacant and then inserting in the margin notes such as: "Tantumdem enim in codice antiquissimo deficiebatur", or "In vetustissimo exemplari deest una carta".
 Another 15th century ms. of the Ciceronian ²Orations, indicated a variant reading by stating: "Quidam codex antiquus habet pro initio huius orationis; etc.". No mention of the script of the "antiquus codex" appears.

The one reference to script to be found in the entire catalogue of the Mss. of the Vatican Library does not, in fact, even apply to a manuscript but rather to an inscription on a bronze tablet. For Fol. 35 of Ms. 10492,³ a 16th century ms., containing various works on agriculture, states that the data given therein had been taken from a bronze tablet of respectable antiquity which had been dug up at the foot of the Apennines, which tablet had been written in "litteris antiquissimis maiusculis minutis", yet in such a way that it might be easily read.

A 14th century Catalogue of the library of the Augustinian Friars at York,⁴ although it lists as many as

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1. Ibid., Tome III, 1912, Ms.1744, p.215.
 2. Ibid., Ms. 1757, p.223.
 3. Ibid., Codices 10301-10700. Descripserunt Marcus Vattasso et Henricus Carusi, Rome 1920, p.239, #10492.
 4. Fasciculus J.W.Clark dicatus, Cantabrigiae, 1909.
 "The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York," now first edited from the manuscript at Trinity College, Dublin, pp.2-95, by M.R.James.

six hundred and forty two volumes, yet makes only one reference to script, and that as follows: "Biblia incompleta ¹
diversarum scripturarum quondam fratris A. bossal". However, as in other catalogues, you do find mention of a ms. that is "vetus". Thus the library contained a "Digestum vetus". ²

Three references to script may be found in I Papiri Diplomatici. ³ A Roman notary, copying in 1038 a papal bull of the year 962, said that the original had been written in Beneventan letters: ⁴

...exemplavi...ex ipso exemplo quod apparet in
 lictera (ben)eventa.

In 1046 another notary made a transcript of a document which had originally been written in Beneventan script:

...hoc est exemplum exemplatum per me infra-
 scriptum notarium ex quodam instrumento scripto
ex littera venevientana. ⁵

In 1280 the English scholar Gilbert described as follows a ms. of St. Cyril entitled De Oraculo Angelico: ⁶

...codicillus...antiquissimis seu vetustissimis
licteris et quasi beneventanis descriptus.

Lowe in his famous work, The Beneventan Script, in an

1. Ibid., p.19, #6.

2. Ibid., p.61, #407.

3. I Papiri Diplomatici, Raccolti et Illustrati Dall'Abate Marini, in Roma MDCCCXV.

4. Marini, op.cit., p.50.

5. Ibid., p.255.

6. Ibid., p.226, c.2.

attempt to prove the antiquity of the terms "lombardica" and "beneventana" as applied to script, has made several extracts from old documents, which I now take the liberty to reproduce. In a document of 1008 an official notary of Naples describes a deed made out in Capua as "chartula¹ comparationis scripta langobardisca". Another Neapolitan document of 1072 informs us that the Church of St. Severus possessed among other books "unum antiphonarium vonum (sic) de nocturna langobardiscum notatum"²; and in the same document there is reference to a "liber comite plenarium franciscum scriptum"³. Another document of 985 contains almost the same expression: "liber comite plenarium unum franciscum scriptum"⁴.

The books of John, a priest of Fontanella, are enumerated in a document of Amalfi dated 1007. In this we read that John had in his possession "eptaticum unum manu francesca...libri duc de regum manu francesca...ysidorum unum manu francesca"⁵. Lowe remarks that the absence of any

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1. Lowe, *op.cit.*, p.22.sq., quoting B.Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia.*, II, 1, (1885) 204 - *Regesta Neapolitana.* #333.
 2. Lowe, quoting Capasso, *op.cit.*, p.306, - *Reg.Neap.*#511.
 3. *Ibid.*, quoting Capasso, *op.cit.*, p.242, - *Reg Neap.*#387.
 4. *Ibid.*, p.23, quoting Capasso, p.154 - *Reg. Neap.*#245.
 5. *Ibid.*, p.23, quoting M.Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica citta e ducato di Amalfi* (Salerno 1876) I, 221.

descriptive terms for the script of other mss. in the collection would seem to indicate that they were written in the local or South Italian hand, while those in the "manu francesca" would be in the ordinary minuscule.

A Neapolitan document of 1094 speaks of a "iudicatum¹ langobardiscum", and a 1336 inventory of the goods of SS. Philip and James in Veroli includes a catalogue of the² books belonging to St. Mary Magdalene, among which were two mss. "de littera langobarda" and eight "de littera beneventana". This juxtaposition of the two terms "langobarda" and "beneventana" presents Lowe with the difficulty³ as to what precisely was meant by Lombardic. The ms. Vat. lat.5007, containing the Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum, and written partly in uncial and partly in Beneventan, has at the beginning of the Beneventan portion an entry in the hand of a 15th century scribe which states that the ms.⁴ was "scripta in longobardo (sic)".

The papal register of John VIII, written in Beneventan characters of the 11th century, is referred to in an

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1. Ibid., p.23, quoting Capasso, p.345, - Reg. Neap. #567.
 2. Ibid., p.38, This catalogue was called to Lowe's attention by Signor Bucci who was working on documents of Veroli.
 3. Ibid., p.23 and pp.38-9.
 4. Ibid., p.39.

inventory (1295) of the papal treasury and archives as "quidem¹ liber antiquus de lictera Beneventana". In a vacant space of the 2nd column of fol. 2^v of the 11th century Beneventan Ms. Vatic. Lat. 1349, there appears the following palaeographical note: "saec. xiv. ex... liber lict. ben(e)ve(n)tane".²

In the upper margin of the first leaf of the 11th century Ms. Vatic. Barb. Lat. 421 may be read: "saec xv... Liber de littera Veneventana".²

The catalogue of the books of the Bodleian Library³ made by Thomas James in 1620 is an alphabetical list of books and mss. in which there appears no mention of script. Mss. are listed as follows:

- p. 97: Julius Caesar - Com. de Bello Gallico.
Ms. V. 4.3 Iur. C. 4.6.
- p. 128: M. Cicero - Tusculanae Quaest. MS. Y 1.
12. Th.
- p. 298: Pet. Lombardus. Super Psalt. MS. L. 1. 12.

A more complete catalogue of the same library, which⁴ was made in 1878 by William Macray, likewise includes in

1. Ibid., p. 38.
2. Ibid., p. 39.
3. Catalogus Universalis Librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana omnium Librorum, Linguarum et Scientiarum genere refertissima, sic compositus; ut non solum Publicis per Europam Universam Bibliothecis, sed etiam Privatis Musaeis, aliisque ad Catalogum Librorum conficiendum usui esse posset... Auctore Thoma James, Oxoniae... 1620. This catalogue has been described by James P. R. Lyell in the Bodleian Quarterly Record, Vol. VII, no. 79.
4. Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Partis Quintae Fasciculus Secundus V. Ricardi Rawlinson ... Codicum Classen Tertiam... Complectens... Confecit Gulielmus D. Macray, Oxonii, 1878.

its description of each ms. no notation or subscription which would in any way indicate the script of the ms. In fact, even the age of the ms. escapes mention in the majority of instances. One codex, however, (Codices Rawlinsoniani C.850), a 17th century ms., containing "Collectanea varia, praecipue historica, manu Jac.Usseri, archiepiscopi Armachensis", bears the notation "Ex antiquissimo MS. bibliothecae Cottonianae"...

An 1856 catalogue of the mss. preserved in the Library¹ of the University of Cambridge, although quite complete in its description of each ms., like the previous English catalogues, fails to mention script. Subscriptions such as the following, however, appear in great abundance and are included by the editors to describe further each of the mss.:²

Vite Sanctorum Auree compilate a quodam Fratre Predicatore. --- Istum librum scripsit Helias Torení presbiter A.D. MCCXCIX. Anima ejus requiescat in pace. Amen.

In 1734 David Casley compiled a catalogue of the Mss.³ of the King's Library to which he prefaces the following

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1. A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, 2 vol., Cambridge at the University Press, 1856 and 1857.
 2. Ibid., Vol.II, p.493, Ff. V.31.
 3. A Catalogue of the Mss. of the King's Library: An appendix to the Catalogue of the Cottonian Library; together with an Account of Books burnt or damaged by a late Fire...by David Casley, London, 1734.

very interesting remarks:

I own indeed, I may be mistaken in assigning the Century, in which a Book was written; and instead of the IXth, may have fixed upon the VIIIth or Xth Century. But, is it not better to be told, that a Book is 900 Years old, when perhaps it may be 1000, or but 800, than to be left quite in the dark, as to its Age? And yet, I have studied that point so much, and have so often compared MSS without Date, with those that have happened to have a Date, that I have little doubt as to that Particular. Nay, as by looking in Peoples Faces most men are able to guess right, that this person is about forty, that about fifty, and another about sixty, without being able to give any reason for those Guesses; so, I think, that by frequent Inspections, I have attained the Faculty of guessing the Age of Mss., and that even before I search more narrowly for certain criteria of their Age.

And yet there are several Criteria, whereby to judge of the Age of Mss. For instance, Those that are written in Capitals, or have several of their Words joined together without any distance between them are a thousand years old or more: and such as are written in Capitals, without any Distinction of the Words at all, are twelve hundred Years old; and some of them much older...

The preface continues with a listing of the criteria by which he is enabled to judge the ages of mss. Thus Casley is aware of the palaeographical problem. Yet in this book in which he describes thoroughly every ms. of the King's Library and in which he includes any inscription enclosed in each of those mss. which would indicate original ownership or age there is no indication at all of script. Expressions such as the following are common:

1. Ibid., p.vi.

p.73: Hunc librum emebat Willielmus Bedeford
 Canonicus de Newenham, de magistro Roberto
 Ware...tempore quo studebat Cantabrigie,
 s. Anno Domini 1415 etc.

Samuel Ayscough's 1782 catalogue of the five thousand
¹
 volumes in the British Museum, like the preceding cata-
 logues, contains no palaeographical data. The same may be
 said of a subsequent catalogue of the Mss in the British
²
 Museum. For among the five hundred and fifteen mss. which
 are listed as belonging to the Library of the Earl of
 Arundel are included no entries which would indicate script.
³
 However at the end of one ms. (#29) appears the notation:
 "Hujusque, ex antiquo libro manuscripto in manibus R.Sommer-
 set". The five hundred and twenty mss. of the Burney
⁴
 Collection, now in the British Museum, yield no palaeograph-
 ical data; and when E.M. Thompson made a later list of the
⁵
 mss. in the British Museum, he too apparently found no
 palaeographical entries, for none are included in his work.

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1. A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the British Museum Hitherto Undescribed: Consisting of Five Thousand Volumes by Samuel Ayscough, 1782, London.
 2. Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum, New Series, Printed by Order of the Trustees, MDCCCXXXIV.
 3. Ibid., p.8.
 4. Ibid., Part II.
 5. Catalogue of the Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum. by E.M. Thompson, London 1881.

Thus it is that while we have, it is true, presented a multitude of passages which should be accepted as evidence of a growing interest in the script of mss. particularly during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, yet the fact remains that to the greater number of scribes, scholars, librarians and such of this age, script was not important, at least not important enough to merit mention in their descriptions of the mss. which came under their observation. This oversight on their part, of course, should make us appreciate all the more the perspicacity and ingenuity of those other men whose names featured so prominently in the preceding pages of this work.

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1. Examination of the following works revealed no mention of script: Hand Book to the Land Charters and Other Saxonie Documents by John Earle, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1888; "Le Registre des Dépenses de la Bibliothèque Vaticane de 1548 a 1555" - in Fasciculus J.W.Clark Dicatus, pp.1420185, published by Leon Dorez; Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus in duas Partes distributus: Prior Syllogen complectitur veterum Diplomatum sive Chartarum Regum et Procerum Scotiae, una cum eorum Sigillis, a Duncano II ad Jacobum I, id est, ab anno 1094 ad 1412...Posterior continet Numismata... collegit, digessit...Jacobus Anderson, Edinburg, 1739. "Recherches sur L'Anciennes Bibliothèques de Corbie", par M.Leopold Delisle in Memoires de l'Institute Imperial de France, Academie Des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Tome,XXIV, Paris, 1861.

CONCLUSION

Having presented a study of all the known palaeographical students who lived prior to the time of Mabillon, it is possible now for us to draw up a list of all the palaeographical data which those scholars made available to the great Benedictine.

(I) THE NAMES OF SCRIPTS

Mabillon himself has said that before his time four scripts were wont to be enumerated; (1) the Roman, (2) the Gothic, (3) the Saxon and (4) the Lombardic.

(a) But the preceding pages have shown that at least two men before 1681 spoke also of a script called "carlovingienne" (pp.363,365), the script which is now termed "Caroline Minuscule".

(b) Further, although we realize that the script of the Irish and that of the English can both be classified under the general name of "scriptura saxonica", yet the multitudinous contractions, the flamboyant ornamentation and the excessive compression of that script as written by the Irish generally stamp those mss. as distinctly Irish and may have been the reason why at least one scholar before Mabillon mentioned "litterae Hibernicae (p.176), while another referred to "litterae scotticae" (p.361).

- (c) The confusion in the terms "scriptura Gothica" (pp.161, 188, 194, 198, 216, 222, 317, 352) and "scriptura Lombardica" (pp.137, 148, 154, 208, 292, 308, 309, 330) we have already discussed. Since most scholars before 1681 seemed to use these terms erroneously, it is not surprising to find Mabillon sharing in their error. Nevertheless, the correct designation, "scriptura Beneventana", (pp.370, 373) was used although Mabillon seems to be unaware of it.
- (d) Identification of the "scriptura Romana" created little doubt in the minds of men before Mabillon, although, of course, they did not make the distinctions which he did in the different types of the "scriptura Romana". Moreover, the word, "unciales", as used by them referred not to the uncial script with which we are familiar but rather to the excessive height of the letters, be they Roman or otherwise. (supra pp.239, 249, 259, 265, 326)
- (e) The distinction made by Mabillon between the "scriptura Litteratoria" and the "scriptura Diplomatica" was also recognized by Papebroch who designated those two respectively "scriptura privata" and "scriptura publica". (supra pp. 249, 257)

(II) THE DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE OLDEST LATIN MSS.

- (a) It seemed to be common knowledge that the oldest Latin mss. were written "continua litterarum serie...nullis super aut inter verba distinctionibus, aut accentibus adscriptis". (supra pp.158, 176, 178, 295, 303, 340, 341, 345, 346, 353).
- (b) It was also known that they were written in majuscules, not in minuscules, (supra pp.196, 207, 297, 302, 307, 337, 342, 353),
- (c) and that they were written not on "charta" but on parchment. (supra p.340)

(III) TIRONIAN NOTES

Pre-Mabillon scholars were not unaware of the importance of Tironian Notes. (supra pp.191, 339). Hamon, in fact, considered them important enough to include two specimens of them in his collection, (supra p.152) which, we might add, were used by Mabillon in his De Re Diplomatica.

(IV) METHOD

Papebroch, by studying ten specimens varying in origin from the seventh to the eleventh century, and by looking for (although, we must admit, often not indicating) the distinguishing features differentiating the one from the other, pointed out the proper procedure to be followed by anyone who would devise a scheme of palaeography, but he at the time failed

to see that a meagre collection of ten specimens would scarcely secure for him the criteria he was seeking. (supra pp.239, 279).

Evidence is also given in the letter of Cardona to the King of Spain that Antoine Augustin was capable of arriving at a system of palaeography and that, by the study of several mss. representative of each important age and by the extraction therefrom of the alphabets characteristic of each. (supra p.182).

Thus, to begin a History of Latin Palaeography with either Papebroch or Mabillon, without first considering the extensive palaeographical efforts of their predecessors, would be almost parallel to the epic writers who plunged their readers "in medias res". But while such a technique is considered quite excellent and praiseworthy in the epic and dramatic, it certainly does not belong in the history of any science. For there we must begin "ab initio" and endeavor to include every person or movement which contributed toward the development of that science.

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VITA

Margaret Rita Finn, daughter of Thomas and Margaret Houlihan Finn, was born August 3, 1916, in Jersey City, New Jersey. She attended St. Michael's High School, Jersey City, and was graduated summa cum laude in June 1933.

She entered the College of St. Elizabeth, Convent, New Jersey, in September 1933 and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, summa cum laude, in June 1937.

From 1937 to 1938 she was employed as a teacher of Latin at the College of St. Elizabeth and at Holy Trinity High School, Hackensack, New Jersey. From 1938 to 1943 she served in the same capacity at St. Michael's High School, Jersey City. From 1943 to the present she has been in the employ of the Jersey City Board of Education as a teacher of Latin and Mathematics.

In June 1938 she was accepted as a graduate student in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Fordham University. Receiving the degree of Master of Arts in February 1942, she enrolled in September 1942 for the doctorate and has majored in the field of Medieval Latin under the mentorship of Reverend Edwin A. Quain, S.J.